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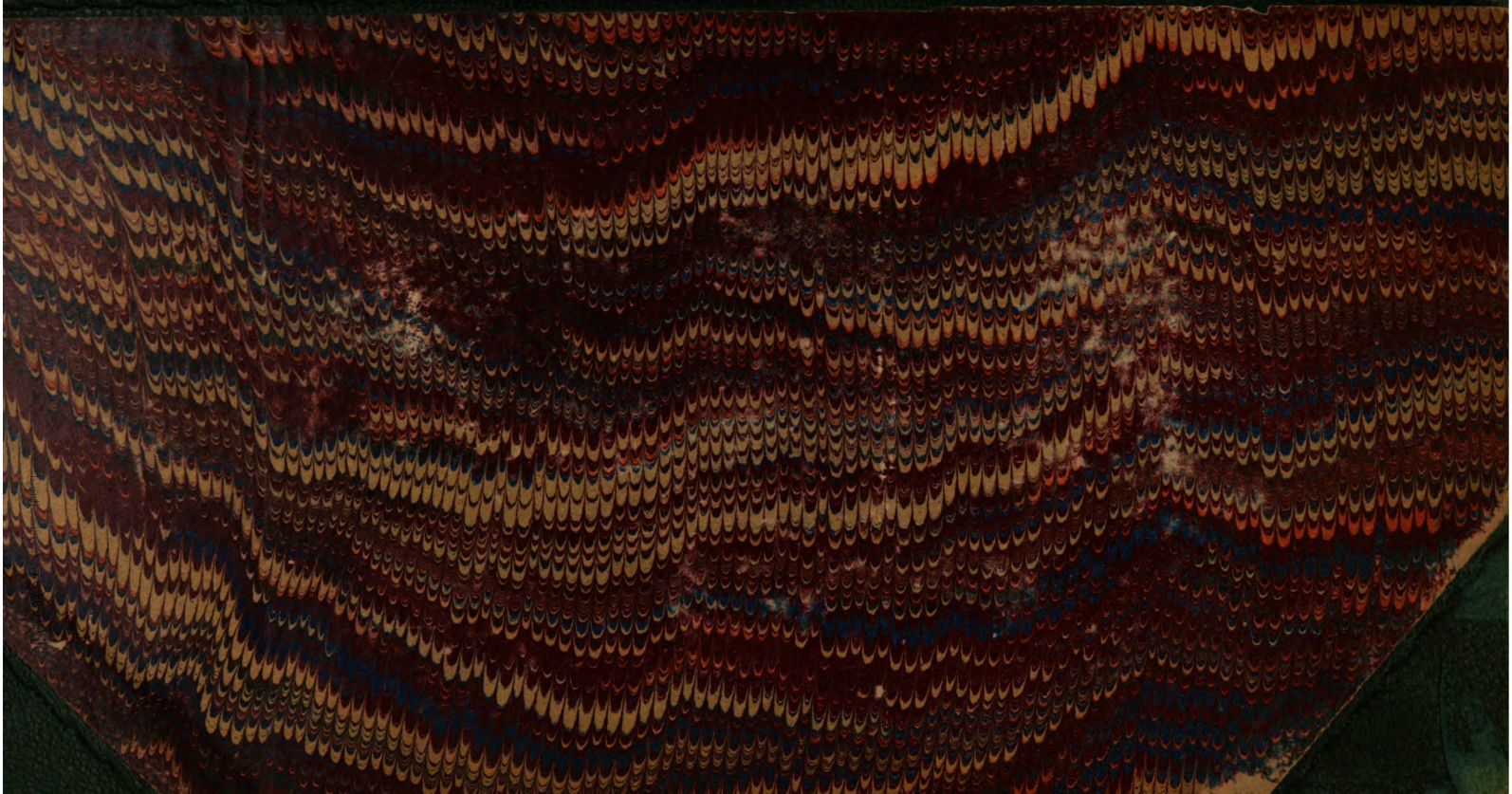

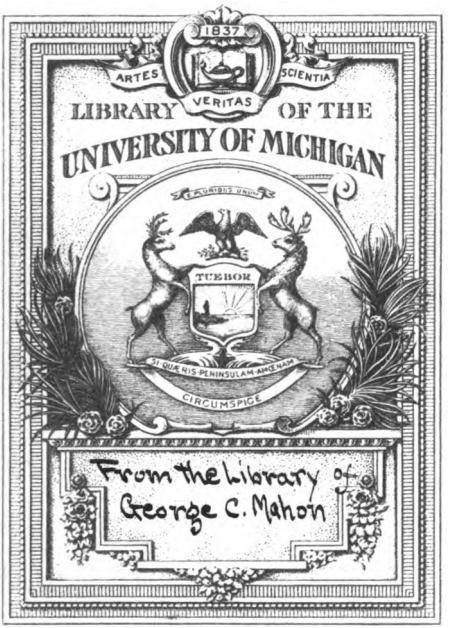

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A

DISCOURSE

ON THE

RELIGION

ANCIENTLY PROFESSED BY THE

Irish and British.

BY THE MOST REVEREND

DR. JAMES USHER,

LATE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

Reprinted from the Edition of 1687.

To which is prefixed, an ample

Biographical Sketch

OF THE

MOST REV. AUTHOR.

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1815.

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THE Editor of this work has taken the liberty of making some verbal alterations in that part of it, which consists of translated passages out of Ancient Irish Writers, in such a manner, as, without affecting the sense, will render it, he hopes, more pleasing to the modern ear. In his Life of the illustrious Prelate, he has carefully noted every circumstance, which, though omitted by one Biographer, has been recorded by another; and he trusts it will be found the most correct and satisfactory hitherto published. No notice, however, has been taken of his Grace's posthumous writings, because, he feared, the necessary remarks concerning them, would have swelled the Memoir so considerably, as to have rendered it too large to prefix to any other work.

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LIFE

OF

DR. JAMES USHER,

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

"WHEN first," says Plutarch, "I applied myself to the writing of these lives, it was for the sake of others; but I pursue that study for my own advantage, availing myself of History, as of a mirror, from which I learn to adjust, and regulate my own conduct; for it is like living and conversing with these illustrious men, when I invite and receive them, as it were, one after another, under my own roof; when I consider how great and illustrious they were, and select from their lives the most glorious and memorable circumstances; a greater pleasure than which," continues he, "the Gods can scarce grant us, or a more effectual method for the regulation of our morals." If a Heathen could find such powerful incentives to morality in the lives of illustrious Pagans, how much stronger inducements must the examples of departed Christians afford to their surviving brethren, to walk worthy of their high vocation. The dangers they escaped, the opposition they met with, the difficulties they encountered, the numbers, if ministers, they were the means of rescuing from eternal woe, the city of habitation, whither, free from all care and toil, and trouble, they have been at length safely conducted by the Spirit of the Most High, and the witnesses they thence are to the truth, and faithfulness of Jehovah, are so many motives to make us *lay aside every weight, and the sin which so easily besets us,* and to induce us *to run with patience the race set before us, looking unto Jesus who is the author and the finisher of our faith.* Tis only he who has planted it in so unkind a soil, who can cause that faith to flourish. The followers

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of the Lamb have so many principles in common, that those of one age appear closely connected, and intimately acquainted with those of each preceding, whose biography they have learned. They seem, while eating the same spiritual food at the banquet of everlasting love, and drawing the waters of refreshing grace, from the inexhaustible fountain of eternal life, to be living and conversing with one another though separated by centuries, and tongues, and nations. They will always find something to interest, to animate, to sympathize with; nay, to instruct, to edify, to encourage them in the lives of those especially who were eminent in the Church of God. The Poet finds every thing to interest him, in Homer, Virgil, and Milton; the Limner in Apelles, Raphael, and Reynolds; the Statesman in Pericles, Mæcenas, and Chatham: the Warrior in Alexander, Cæsar, and Wellington; and will it be too much to add that the Christian should be animated, encouraged, and improved by forming himself upon the model of the distinguished Prelate who is the subject of these memoirs; of the Doctors of the Reformation, and of the noble army of martyrs, none of whom "counted their lives dear unto themselves, that they might finish their course with joy, and the ministry which they received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the Grace of God."

To select then the most memorable circumstances of his life, we commence according to custom, with the birth of Archbishop Usher, which took place in the Parish of Saint Nicholas, in the City of Dublin, on the fourth day of January, A. D. 1580—a day much to be prized, as on it, Heaven gave to earth, one of the most valuable and useful characters that ever graced our orb, a day more worthy of grateful, and religious observance than many which have been appointed in our Calendars, to be kept holy.—His father, Arnold Usher, who was descended from an English family of the name of Neville, which had long since emigrated to Ireland, was one of the six clerks in the Irish Chancery, a man of talent also, and of learning. One of his ancestors had been Usher to King John, from which situation, as was customary then, he derived that name, which afterwards continued as the distinctive appellation of the family. His mother's father, James Stanihurst, was three times Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland, Recorder of Dublin, and Master in Chancery; he was also the first who had the honor of moving in Parliament for the foundation of an University in Dublin. To this Bill Queen Elizabeth readily assented, and gave her royal patent to effect the execution of the design. From this University, while yet in its infancy, founded by the exertions of his Uncle, our Author shone forth as a star of the first magnitude, a brilliant omen of its subsequent renown in the annals of literature. He learned the rudiments of his native tongue, and how to read it, from two maiden aunts, who were blind from their youth. While they were thus engaged in instructing their nephew, in the principles of language, they did not omit to bring before his infant mind, those

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subjects which were of the most momentous consequence to his imperishable soul. Being themselves, enabled by the grace of God, to behold wonderful things out of his law, they felt exceedingly desirous that he also should perceive them. Dr. Parr has recorded of these women, that they possessed such "incomparable readiness in the divine oracles, that they were either of them able on a sudden to repeat any part of the Bible"—so great was their love of that inestimable volume, altho' deprived of sight! Usher remained under the tuition of these excellent instructresses until he arrived at the age of eight years, at which period he was sent by his father to a school then opened by Mr. James Fullerton, and Mr. James Hamilton —These gentlemen having been sent over by King James, to secure his interest here among the Protestant Gentry, thought it necessary to assume the profession of School Masters, to conceal their real purposes. They were both in time knighted for their services, and Hamilton created Viscount Clandebois. From these extraordinary teachers he obtained a much better education than what his countrymen were then accustomed to receive, as learning was so much neglected from the convulsed state of the country, during so long a period. He hence esteemed the arrival of these persons in Ireland as a circumstance most providential for him, and often referred to it as a signal instance of the loving kindness of the Lord. To them he truly owed all that extensive learning, which he afterwards found so effectual and powerful a weapon in his polemical contests. He made now a very rapid and uncommon progress in Latin, Rhetorick and Poetry, and was considered by his masters the best and most promising pupil under their care. So exceedingly captivated was he by the poetic muse in his youth, that it was then imagined he would have remained her constant votary. But he soon found it impracticable to remain in her service, and attain that proficiency in useful learning, which he deemed it necessary to acquire. Although he thus repressed his propensity for the refined flights of Poetry, "as not suitable to the great end of his more resolved, serious, and profitable studies, yet", continues Dr. Parr, "he always loved a good Poem that was well and chastly writ." In admiring those poems only, which were recommended by their chastity as well as by their talent, his example ought surely to be imitated. It is a sad reflection that so much talent has been perverted, so much time sacrificed, and so much wit exerted to adorn obscenity, lasciviousness, and immorality with all the bewitching graces of abused Poetry.

While we thus trace, in the intellectual firmament, the incipient dawnings of one, who afterwards completed his course with such splendor, we should not forget to mark the first promise of his no less brilliant appearance in the moral heavens. We are informed by Dr. Bernard, that his conversion to God took place at the age of ten years through the instrumentality of a Sermon, which he heard preached from the *first* verse of the *twelfth* chapter of the Romans; "I beseech you therefore brethren by the mercies of God, that

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you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." It may appear strange to those, who are themselves strangers to the covenant of promise, to hear the conversion of a child spoken of; when, according to their apprehension, he was innocent; but when, according to Revelation, he in common with every other son of the fall " was shapen in iniquity, and conceived in sin." They doubtless are ignorant of this important truth of revealed religion, that " unless a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of Heaven;" unless a new creation of the whole man take place within him, removing the natural enmity of his heart against the divine Being, correcting the evil propensities of his nature, and enabling him to accept the free, unmerited salvation propounded in the Gospel.

Some manuscript notes of Master Perkins, which have since been printed, on the sanctifying of the Lord's Day, made so powerful an impression on his mind, that during the remainder of his life it was his constant care to observe it as he ought. About this time he read in Latin Saint Augustine's meditations (those rather which are attributed to him,) which so exceedingly affected him that he often wept as he perused them. So great a loss as Satan had sustained in him, could not long be brooked without some attempt at rescue—he accordingly exerted every nerve to effect this diabolical purpose—every means was resorted to, to bring him back to his allegiance to the " Prince of the power of the air"—and every attempt made to suppress the growth of this tender plant, as well when the shades of night caused its head to droop, as when the returning sun again invigorated its suspended charms. Not only were various modes of terror invented to affright him in the course of his daily avocations, they were suggested even in dreams by night. The ardor, with which he had embraced the pursuit of godliness, it was thus hoped, would be early checked, and his timid mind be dissuaded from a course, which however pleasurable, appeared to them to be only encompassed with danger. Notwithstanding all these wiles, he remained stedfast and immoveable. Persuaded, that he was unable of himself to overcome the adversary, he applied, by prayer, to that glorious being, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift; and he found grace, proportioned to his need. He who is mighty to save, delivered him in his distress—the attacks of his enemy were violent and frequent; but they were opposed by invincible power—they soon ceased—the storm subsided—a welcome calm succeeded, and an unusual degree of comfort and support was administered from on high. This circumstance continued indelibly impressed upon his mind, as might well be supposed, during his whole life.

When the Evil One found his machinations were unsuccessful, and that the young christian warrior could not be intimidated by the sudden terror, which cometh by night, as the Almighty One was his defence, his shield, and his strong tower round about him; he endeavoured once more to allure

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him into his service, with the bait of pleasure. Some of his companions taught him to play cards, with which he found himself so delighted at first, that they interfered very considerably with his studies. But the spirit of Jehovah, which ever keepeth his own from falling, shewed him the sinful tendency of such a practice, and it was immediately discontinued.*

In 1693, having arrived at the age of thirteen years, he commenced his academical studies, being still under the direction of his former preceptor, Hamilton, who had since been elected a Fellow of the University. Under the tuition of this Gentleman he continued to make a remarkable proficiency in the various branches of academical learning. "In a survey of the human

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* It may not be uninteresting to add here an anecdote of a celebrated Metaphysician, extracted from Mr C. Buck's anecdotes:—"Mr. Locke having been introduced by Lord Shaftsbury to the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Halifax, these three Noblemen, instead of conversing with the Philosopher, as might naturally, have been expected, on literary subjects, in a very short time sat down to cards. Mr. Lock, after looking on for some time, pulled out his pocket-book, and began to write with great attention. One of the company observing this, took the liberty of asking him what he was writing. "My Lord," said Locke, "I am endeavouring as far as possible to profit by my present situation; for having waited with impatience for the honor of being in company with one of the greatest geniuses of the age, I thought I could do nothing better than to write down your conversation; and indeed I have set down what you have said for this hour or two." This well timed ridicule had the desired effect, and these Noblemen fully sensible of its force, immediately quitted their play, and entered into a conversation more rational, and better suited to the dignity of their character." To this quotation we may add the 75th Canon of the Church of England, as it refers to this matter, and as some of our Ministers are not very scrupulous in obeying its injuctions:—"No Ecclesiastical Person shall at any time, other than for their honest necessities, resort to any taverns, or alehouses, neither shall they board or lodge in any such places. Furthermore, they shall not give themselves to any base or servile labour, or to drink or riot, spending their time idly by day or by night, playing at dice, CARDS, or tables, or *any other unlawful games:* but at all times convenient they shall hear or read somewhat of the holy Scriptures, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest study or exercise, always doing the things which shall appertain to honesty, and endeavouring to profit the Church of God; having always in mind, that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and christianly, under pain of Ecclesiastical censures, to be inflicted with severity, according to the qualities of their offences."

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mind," says Doctor Aikin, "there is nothing more curious and instructive, than to trace the circumstances, which may have given the primary turn to those pursuits, by which an individual has rendered himself distinguished." We find the first incentive to Usher's future fame, as an Historian in that celebrated passage of Cicero, *nescire quid antea natus sis acciderit, id est, semper esse puerum*, (to be unacquainted with the occurrences of the world previous to your birth is to remain always a child.) His mind was so extremely impressed with the importance of this sentiment, that he immediately commenced Sleidan's work, *de quatuor imperiis*, on the four great monarchies of the world, and from that time he became continually engaged in historical and antiquarian researches. At fourteen years of age he began to collect materials, from the various historical books he was in the habit of consulting, for his celebrated work of annals. When he was but fifteen, he had drawn up a *Chronicle* of the Bible, as far as the Book of Kings, differing only from that he afterwards published, by some additions, and a parallel Chronicle of the Heathen World.

When he was in his fifteenth year he became a communicant at the table of the Lord. From this period to the close of his benevolent and active life, it was his usual habit to exercise himself in private meditation, strict examination, and penitential humiliation of soul, before God for sin. "I have," says Dr. Bernard, "heard him speak of a certain place near the water side, where he often resorted to recount his sins, and with floods of tears to pour them out in the confession of them; the first of which he found so pleasant to his soul, that he thirsted for all occasions for such a sequestration, and so usually on Saturdays in the afternoon it was his custom."—It is much to be desired, that even older christians, than he then was, imitated him in this useful practise, and were as devoted to the service of their master. "It cost him," adds the same writer, "many a tear, that he could not be more heavenly minded at that age."

While yet an under graduate in College, he met, among the Romanists with "Stapleton's Fortress of Faith," in which antiquity is confidently claimed for the Roman tenets, and the Protestant sentiments on the contrary, charged with novelty. He was so persuaded of the truth of Tertullian's sentiment, *verum quod cunque primum, adulterum quodcunque posterius*, that what is first is true; and that what is subsequently introduced is needs impure; he resolved to peruse the works of the ancient fathers himself, conceiving, as was indeed the case, that Stapleton and his party had misquoted those venerable writers—not indeed that he regarded their opinions as decisive, when those opinions were incompatible with scripture, the only fountain of truth—but he considered them of importance in ascertaining the received notions, and uniform practise of elder times, when apostolic precept and apostolic example were yet fresh in the memory of many. Respecting the fathers we may reasonably adopt the sentiments of Mr. Middleton; "it is

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now become," he observes, "a fashion to treat the fathers with contempt, and to cry out upon all tests in religion. But it may be said with Dr. Cave, in his life of Clemens Alexandrinus, that though the good and pious men of ancient times were continually engaged in fierce disputes, with Heathens on the one side, and Jews on the other, they did not alway ορθοτομειν, *divide the word of truth aright*, in some nicer lines and strokes of it; yet their piety as much transcended the profession of this age, as this age can possibly go beyond them in learning. They did not consider religion as a set of *notions*, nor live upon it to feed their *speculations*; but they "put on Christ," lived Christ, walked with him, and for his sake, "loved not their lives unto death." They knew much of the *power* of godliness, and dwelt less upon the *form*: and in this way, they understood religion much better than those, who considered it only as a machine for splitting of hairs, without having any real enjoyment of its life and sweetness."

When however he was seventeen years of age, he had read many of the fathers, and many writers upon practical and political divinity. He determined, if his health and life were spared, to read all the writings of the fathers; which task he commenced when he was twenty years old, and compleated it at thirty-eight, allotting to himself a daily portion: with which he permitted no avocation to interfere.

In 1596 he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts, and in two years after he distinguished himself as respondent in a philosophy act which was given by the College in honor of the Earl of Essex, on his arrival in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. In the performance of this office he is reported to have manifested a remarkable degree of talent and genius.

While he was thus arduously engaged in theological studies, and devout preparation for the important calling of the Christian Ministry, his father very anxiously urged him to embrace the study of the common law, and pursue it as his professional employment; to this advice he appeared extremely averse, but he would notwithstanding have complied with it, from his sense of parental duty, had not the immediate death of his father rendered him his own master. Being eldest son, the family estate, which was of no inconsiderable value, descended to him. In the disposal of this property, that noble magnanimity, for which he was distinguished, and that zeal in his master's cause, which never left him, were very remarkably manifested. As his estate was involved in much litigation, burdened with the fortunes of seven sisters; and as so much care, he thought, would interfere with his literary labours and theological studies, he resigned it to his brother, reserving for himself only so much, as was necessary for his maintenance in College, and the purchase of books. Being thus divested of all worldly cares, he entirely devoted himself to the acquirement of learning, and of such general knowledge as would render him most useful to the Church

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of God, in promoting the salvation of men, and putting to flight the armies of aliens.

When only eighteen or nineteen years of age he was considered the most proper person to contend with Henry Fitz-Symmonds, a learned and daring Jesuit, who was at that time a prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, and who had challenged *the greatest and most learned champion in the controversies between the Romish and Reformed Churches*, to contend with him This challenge Usher alone was found competent to accept. He accordingly came forward to oppose this mighty boaster. A public disputation ensued between them on the subject of Bellermine's controversies, which was to be continued one day in every week; but the wily Jusuit soon found Usher's wit too strong, his arguments too forcible, his skill in disputation greater than he imagined; and therefore after the second conference he declined the combat, left the field of battle to the vanquisher, and fled ingloriously. When Mr. Usher found Fitz-Symmonds resolved to renew the contest he wrote him the following letter:

"I was not purposed, Mr. Fitz-Symmonds, to write unto you, before you had first written unto me concerning the chief points of your religion, as at our last meeting you promised. But seeing you have deferred the same (for reasons best known to yourself,) I thought it not amiss to enquire further of your mind concerning the continuation of the conferrence betwixt us, and to this I am the rather moved, because I am credibly informed of certain reports, which I could hardly be persuaded should proceed from one, who pretended so great love and affection for me. If I am a boy (as it hath pleased you very contemptuously to name me) I give thanks to the *Lord*, that my carriage towards you hath been such, as could minister no just occasion to despise my youth. Your spear belike is, in your own conceit, a weaver's beam: and your abilities such, that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the host of *Israel;* and therefore, like the *Philistine*, you contemn me as being a boy. Yet this I would fain have you know, that I neither came then, nor do come now unto you, in any confidence of any learning that is in me (in which respect notwithstanding, I thank God, I am what I am) but I come in the name of the Lord of Hosts, whose companies you have reproached, being certainly persuaded, that even out of the mouths of Babes and Sucklings he was able to show forth his own praises; for the further manifestation whereof, I do again earnestly request you, that setting aside all vain comparison of persons, we may go plainly forward in examining the matters, that rest in controversy between us. Otherwise I hope you will not be displeased if, as for your part you have begun, so, I also, for my own part, may be bold, for the clearing of myself, and the truth which I profess freely to make known what hath already passed concerning this matter. Thus intreating you in a few lines to make known unto me your purpose in this behalf, I end, praying the *Lord* that

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both this and all other enterprizes, that we take in hand, may be so ordered, as may most make for the advancement of his own glory, and the kingdom of of his son JESUS CHRIST.

Tuus ad aras usque,

JAMES USHER.

The humility so apparent in this letter; and at the same time the strong confidence manifested toward God, that he would assist him in defence of the truth against Jesuitical subtility, is a noble testimony of his character, as of one zealous toward God, and experimentally acquainted with that knowledge of God, which is eternal life, and without the possession of which, zeal is vain. No answer has been found to this letter, no subsequent conference took place; nor is there any mention made of it, unless we except a vain, false, and pompous description by Fitz-Symmonds in the preface to his *Britanomachia*. "[b] No one" says he, "would behold me standing boldly above them, neither would any regard me challenging them, with a voice loud as Stentor's, in their very entrenchments and strongest holds. Once indeed a lad of eighteen years of age came to me, with a trembling voice and timid aspect—a youth of wisdom riper than his years, but of a disposition not yet corrupted, as his appearance indicated. I am uncertain whether he was very desirous of popular applause or not, he certainly evidenced a great avidity to dispute on the most abstruse subjects of divinity, although he had not yet completed his course of philosophy, or arrived at manhood, however I bade him bring me an appointment from his own party, whereby he would be declared a fit and proper combatant, and that then I would commence a disputation with him. But as they by no means considered him worthy of so great an honor: so, in like manner, he did not again deem me worthy of his presence."—Dr. Parr observes that Fitz-Symmonds living to know our author better, terms him *acatholicorum doctissimus*, the most learned, not of Heretics, but of Non-Catholics, "a tender expression truly he adds from a Jesuit."

A. D. 1600, he was appointed Proctor, was chosen Catechatical Lecturer in the University, took the degree of Master of Arts, on the Ash-Wednesday of the same year, and answered the Philosophy Act with much credit to himself. It was on this memorable day the Earl of Essex was beheaded; the Reader will remember that only two years had now elapsed since that ill-fated Nobleman was present at the performance of a Philosophy Act, on his arrival in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, in which Usher sustained the part of Respondent, *Sic transit gloria mundi!* Such is the transitory nature of wordly honor! and such the uncertain tenure by which prosperity is guaranteed to man!

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About this time he, and two other young men were selected from among the Students of the University, to deliver weekly Lectures on Divinity at Christ Church, which was then regularly attended by the Viceroy and his Household. The reason why this measure was resorted to was, that Preachers were then very few in number, and the famine of the word was very great. Mr. Richardson a native of Cheshire, and of the same year with Usher, who was afterwards D. D. and was consecrated Bishop of Ardagh, A. D. 1633, on the preferment of Bedell to Kilmore, was appointed to expound the prophecies of Isaiah on Friday: Mr. Walsh, afterwards D. D. was to go through a Body of Divinity on the morning of Sunday; and it was allotted to Mr. Usher on the evening of the same day, to explain the nature of the controversy existing between the Protestants and Papists, for the satisfaction of the latter more especially. He performed this task "so perspicuously," observes Dr. Bernard, "always concluding with matter of exhortation, that it was much for the edification of Protestants, which the elder sort of persons, living in my time, I have heard often acknowledging." He was not long however engaged in this manner, for considering himself only a Probationer he refused to continue these prælections any longer, as he was yet unordained. But the remarkable ability with which he discharged this duty, made his friends and superiors extremely anxious that he should enter into the ministry immediately, for they all hence thought *the Lord had need of him.* He was accordingly ordained, although under canonical age, according to former precedents, by his Uncle Henry Usher, then Archbishop of Armagh, on the Sunday before Christmas, A. D. 1601. On the following Friday, which was a day particularly appointed to implore the blessing of heaven on the operation of our forces against the Spaniards, and happened also to be the day on which we were so signally victorious, he preached publicly for the first time after his ordination, before the Court, from Rev. iii. "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead." He was soon afterwards appointed afternoon preacher to the State, at Christ Church, Dublin. At this time the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, gave directions to the Protestant Ministers of Dublin, to disperse themselves through the different Churches, and by their Sermons to endeavour to communicate all necessary information upon the subject of Religion to the Papists, who had begun since the defeat of the Spaniards at Kinsale, to conform to the statute, which required their attendance at Church during divine service. Saint Catherine's Church was allotted to Usher, as the scene of his first labours among the Romanists. It was his custom to draw up the Sermon which he preached on one Sunday in the form of questions, and answers for the succeeding Sabbath, when many persons of respectability used voluntarily to repeat the responses, before the whole Congregation. This plan was found to be very beneficial, its useful results in this instance caused it to be universally adopted throughout the country, and the Papists flocked every where in

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great numbers to attend to this novel medium of instruction, which was resorted to for their benefit. But suddenly the operations of the Statute were suspended, the power of the High Commission was no longer exerted to enforce its observance, and Popery with all its evils, was again permitted to return and destroy the fair hopes, which were entertained of an early and abundant harvest in the Lord's Vineyard. This circumstance could not fail to excite the attention of Usher, and accordingly, in the course of his duty at Christ Church, he preached a Sermon against toleration to Papists from the fourth chapter of Ezekiel, and the sixth verse, "Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days, I have appointed thee each day for a year." He made a particular application of this denunciation of the prophet to Ireland; "from this year, said he, will I reckon the sin of Ireland, that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." After the lapse of forty years, the Rebellion of 1641 broke out, the country was deluged with civil war, and many thousand Protestants were murdered. Several people, who had heard him preach the sermon above mentioned, and were alive at this memorable time, when Ireland was thus convulsed by internal struggles, regarded him as no mean prophet.* This circumstance and others of a similar nature, which merely indicated the discernment of a wise and

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* It is a remarkable circumstance, that George Browne, who was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin in 1535, and was the first of the Irish Clergy, who renounced the errors of Popery, preached a sermon also in Christ Church, Dublin, before the then Lord Deputy, in which he made some observations respecting the Jesuits of a similar prophetic nature with that mentioned above, which Usher made respecting the Papists. On the first Sunday after Easter 1551, when the Liturgy of the Church of England was first publicly read in Ireland, Browne preached from Psl. cxix. 18. "Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law." In the course of this sermon he observed that the order of Jesuits which had lately sprung up, would deceive many—would assume the various forms of Heathen, Atheist, and Jew to ascertain, and thus overturn the intentions, and minds of each,—would spread over the whole world,—would be admitted to the councils of Princes, and gain their confidence—but that God in the end to justify his law, would cast them off suddenly,—by means of those who most succoured them, and made most use of them, would cause them to be odious to all nations,—and would make them a greater by-word than the Jews, being more slighted and having no resting place. The Sermon will be found at full length in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol 5, Page 566, and also in Sir James Ware's Annals, vid. p. 159, of English translation, printed Dublin, A. D. 1705.

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judicious mind, soon gave rise to a work containing a collection of his prophecies and entitled *de predictionibus Usserii*. Dr. Smith has censured these surmises of our author; but Middleton in his Biographia Evangelica has well observed, "that such kind of predictions being only a judicious conjecture and foresight, it seems more to the purpose of his character, that in "this passage of his Sermon, he put the non-toleration of Popery upon the "intolerant persecuting spirit of that religion, dissuading a toleration thereof "upon reasons of danger to the State, and not solely upon its idolatry." Great cause indeed would Ireland have had to rejoice, if the Government then, and since, had adopted the line of conduct, which Usher recommended.

A circumstance which occurred at this period, and to which perhaps we can find no precedent in the annals of military transactions, furnished him with a species of employment most suitable to his feelings, studies, and taste. The English army, which defeated the Spaniards at Kinsale, anxious to render the country a literary, as well as military service, generously subscribed the sum of *Eighteen Hundred Pounds* to purchase a library for the University in Dublin. Dr. Challoner and Mr. Usher were selected to effect the worthy purposes of these literary warriors. This appointment afforded him an opportunity of visiting the sister Island, of consulting many books, and manuscripts, which in Ireland were beyond his reach, and which were requisite for the prosecution of those researches, in which he was so industriously engaged. On his way to the metropolis of the British Empire he stopped at Chester, and visited Mr. Christopher Goodman, who was Professor of Divinity at Oxford, in the reign of Edward VI. who had rendered some useful services to Sir Henry Sidney, when he was Lord Deputy of Ireland, against the Papists,* and was at this time lying on his death-bed. Bernard says he often heard Usher repeating the *grave wise sayings*, which this venerable sage used on this occasion, and Wood, that he was much delighted with his entertaining stories. On their arrival in London they became acquainted with the indefatigable Sir Thomas Bodley; this gentleman having laid aside his deplomatic character, was now assiduously engaged in procuring for the University of Oxford, that magnificent Library, which has since so deservedly perpetuated his name. Usher, Challoner, and he, being engaged in the same pursuit, were mutually useful to each other; and the libraries respectively collected by each indisputably attest their uncommon knowledge of general literature, and their remarkable zeal and industry in effecting the purposes for which they were deputed.

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* Vid. Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.

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A. D. 1606, Archbishop Loftus,* who was Chancellor of Ireland, and who was the first Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, probably from a real value for his character, and esteem for his worth, as Usher having been the first Student, he was from this circumstance able to appreciate his value, presented him with the Chancellorship of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. This was the only benefice conferred on him, until he was advanced to the dignity of Bishop. We may take this opportunity of remarking that the manner in which he filled the one situation was not different from the conduct he pursued after he had been promoted to the other. His clerical duties were commenced by diligence in preaching, and activity in his other ministerial functions, they were continued also, and ended in a similar manner. His situation did not oblige him to preach, but a sense of the high obligation he was under, as, by appointment, the ostensible spiritual guide of so many souls, constrained him constantly to direct the flock, over which Christ had made him overseer, to the great Shepherd of the sheep, the Saviour of sinners, the only refuge from impending ruin, or the wrath to come. It was his uniform practise to preach every Sunday at Finglass, the living from which he received his profits, as Chancellor of St. Patrick's, unless sickness, or some extraordinary occasion occurred to prevent him. He also endowed that Church with a Vicarage.

In the same year also, he again visited the metropolis of the British Empire, for the purpose of examining, and purchasing such manuscripts, and works as were necessary for him to consult in reference to English History, in the investigation of which he was then engaged. During his stay in England at this time he formed a very intimate friendship with Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Camden, the two celebrated antiquarians of that age. The latter was at this time employed in publishing a new edition of his "Brittania;" to which he was enabled to make many important additions from the information he received from Usher respecting the ancient state of Ireland, and the history of Dublin in particular. The assistance he thus obtained from the venerable subject of this narrative he respectfully acknowledged, accompanied with this tribute of esteem for his many useful acquirements, that "in variety of judgment and learning he far surpassed his years."

He proceeded Batchelor of Divinity in 1607, and was chosen professor of Theology the same year to the University where he received his education. He continued to fill the chair of divinity, to which he was now appointed, thirteen years, and delivered there many courses of polemical lectures, which were afterwards collected into three manuscript volumes, but which are now unfortunately

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* Isabella, daughter of Archbishop Loftus, was married to Sir William Usher, third cousin to the subject of this memoir.

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lost. They chiefly had reference to the Romish controversy, toward which, in that age, the eyes of the religious world were almost wholly directed. The intensity of their attention to this object was too great to be of long duration. Too calous a disposition began to prevail respecting the evil, and Popery though decidedly hostile to the dearest interests of Christianity, and the State, has since been permitted, with the countenance of many who bear the name of Protestants, to acquire strength *for*, and direct that strength when acquired *in* offensive operations against the vital energies of our Church, and Constitution. Its enmity indeed to the latter has never ceased to attract observation. But as men are uniformly disposed to be more tenacious of what appears valuable on earth, than of those matters which being inseperably combined with our future destiny, are of most importance, the exertions of the Romanists against the State have much more jealously been regarded, than their exertions against religion. Occasional attempts were indeed made to deprive the Hydra of its heads, but the strong hand of power always deemed it too Herculean a labour to suppress the growth of others in their room. In the intrepid Usher this dread had no place. It was accordingly his unwearied endeavour to induce *the powers that be* to exercise the authority with which they are invested for the execution of wrath upon evil doers.

In 1609 he wrote his treatise on Herenagh and Termon or Church lands, which were formerly appropriated to the Chorepiscopi, (Ecclesiastical Officers who were subordinate to Deacons) which though free from secular imposts were yet subject to Episcopal levies, and were then a matter of much litigation. This was considered a very learned disquisition, and was fraught with much critical research. As it referred to the Corban lands of England, as well as Ireland, it was sent by him in manuscript, to Bancroft then Archbishop of Canterbury, and was by him presented to King James. Sir Henry Spelman was indebted for his information on this subject, to what he extracted from this treatise, he published it in the first part of his glossary, and mentions the source from whence he derived it in the following words, "'thus copiously," says he, "have I obscured a light, which that renowned Pharus of the learned world, James, Bishop of Meath, kindled for me" In his preface also he makes a general acknowledgment to Usher, Cotton, Selden, and Dr. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Keeper, for the communications he received from them, and stiles them "the eminent luminaries and patrons of literature." General Vallancey published this tract of Usher's in Vol. 1. of his Collectanea Hibernica, A.D. 1787, from Usher's own MSS. which is still preserved in the College Library, Dublin.

He again visited England in 1609, was considerably noticed at Court, and once preached before the household. He also at this time formed many literary friendships, especially with Sir Henry Bourgchier, afterwards Earl of Bath, Sir Henry Saville, Henry Briggs, the first who was appointed

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professor of Geometry at Gresham College, and who afterwards was the first Savilian Professor of the same science at Oxford, John Selden the celebrated Barrister, John Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, Samuel Ward, his most constant and intimate correspondent, and who was afterwards President of Sidney College, and Thomas Lydiat the Chronologer on whom he prevailed to reside in Dublin, who was afterwards married to his Grace's sister, and for whom he procured apartments in the University. From this time it became his constant practise to pay a triennial visit to England in order to prosecute his literary pursuits with the greater facility. He generally divided his time between Cambridge, Oxford, and London; occupying himself chiefly at the principal libraries of those places, and mostly remaining a month at each.

The Fellows of Dublin University unanimously elected him their Provost in 1610, when he had attained the thirtieth year of his age. This arduous but highly honourable office he thought proper to decline, as the arrangement of Collegiate property, then involved in much difficulty, and the undivided attention which other collegiate duties demanded, would have considerably interfered with the diligent prosecution of personal learning, by engaging him almost exclusively in directing the studies of others. He was principally employed, at this time in collecting from the Fathers, Councils, and Church History, such extracts as were requisite for the completion of his Theologica Bibliotheca, a work which the Irish Rebellion at first, his annals next, and death afterwards prevented him from finishing. This work was to have contained an exact account of the various writers on Theology in former times, the precise periods at which they severally flourished, the character their works deserved, what works attributed to them were genuine, what spurious, as also an ample statement of the doctrines and rites of the ancient Church. The collections he had made for this purpose, he committed on his death bed to Dr. Langbaine, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, "his dear friend," as he then called him, "and the only man," he then declared," on whose learning as well as friendship he could rely to cast them into such a form as might render them fit for the press." But while Dr. Langbaine was engaged in fulfilling these last injuctions of his revered friend, he was himself summoned by "the High and Lofty One who inhabiteth eternity," to appear in an eternal world. He had transcribed the Primate's manuscript, in order to complete the marginal quotations, which had suffered considerably by the inroads of muscipular foes, whom we may consider as confederate with his popish adversaries. The mice endeavoured to destroy what the Romanists would, with equal willingness, were it in their power, have annihilated too. Truth was never friendly to their cause, and it has ever been their study to conceal it. In the performance of this arduous task, Dr. Langbaine was employed, during a very severe season, in the public Library at Oxford, and thus contracted a cold, which ultimately proved the occasion of his death in February A. D. 1657, "to the

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grief," says Dr. Parr "of all good men." Dr. Fell, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, endeavoured to complete those breaches, which Langbaine had so unfortunately been prevented from accomplishing; but they still remain imperfect, and the unpublished transcript is yet in the Bodleian Library. The original manuscript in Usher's own writing was, when Parr wrote, in the possession of Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

When he was in the thirty-second year of his age, he was admitted to the degree of D. D. by Dr. Hampton, then Archbishop of Armagh and Chancellor of the University of Dublin. He selected for the subjects of the sermons he preached on this occasion Dan. ix 24, on the seventy weeks, and Rev. xx. 4, "I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands: and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years."

In 1613, being in London he published his first treatise at the royal press, entitled *Gravissimæ Quæstionis de Christianarum Ecclesiarum, in Occidentis præsertim partibus, ab Apostolicis temporibus ad nostram usque ætatem, continua successione et statu, Historica Explicatio.* This work was dedicated to King James, by whom it was regarded as a very excellent performance. The design of it was to prove, that Christ always had a Church on earth uncorrupted with Popish errors, and that the reformed and primitive Churches exactly corresponded with each other in their sentiments respecting divine truth, and their opposition to the unscriptural dogmas of the Romish Hierarchy. The first part of this work comprised all the intervening period between the sixth century, and the accession of Gregory VII. to the Pontificate in the tenth century. The second part was brought down to the year 1270. He also had resolved to publish another part embracing the ages between this Æra and the Reformation, but his papers relating to it were unfortunately lost, at the time he was pillaged of his books and manuscripts in Wales, as will hereafter be related. It was Usher's intention to have published the whole in a perfect form, after the publication of his Uncle Stanihurst's* answer to the first part. This he mentions in the

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* *Richard Stanihurst* after the death of his wife settled in the Low Countries, and was ordained there. He was appointed domestic Chaplain to the Arch-Duke Albert, and the Infanta Clara Isabella Eugenia, After the appearance of his nephew's work he published an epistolary premonition at Paris, announcing a future controversy with Usher. His death, which happened at Brussels in 1618, prevented the contest. Usher in a letter, which he

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following passage extracted from a letter of his to his Brother in-law Lydiat, which may be found in the 68th page of Parr's collection," There is wanting for the accomplishment of the second part, an hundred years story: which defect in the continuation of the work is by me supplied. I purpose to publish the whole work together much augmented: but do first expect the publication of my Uncle Stanihurst's answer to the former, which I hear is since his death sent to Paris to be printed. I am advertised also, that even now there is come out at Antwerp, a treatise of my countryman Christopher de Sacro-Bosco, *De verâ Ecclesiæ Investigatione*, wherein he hath some plain dealing with me. Both these I would willingly see before I set out my Book anew: that if they have justly found fault with any thing, I may amend it; if unjustly, I may defend it:" *an excellent rule*, says Dr. Aikin, *for a controversialist*, but one, it may be added, which is seldom adopted; for men mostly defend themselves, as well when their positions are proved to be erroneous, as when candor must admit them to be correct. In this year too he entered into a matrimonial alliance with Phœbe, the daughter of his early and valued friend Dr. Luke Challoner. This Lady was an heiress of considerable fortune, and her father on his dying bed, implored her, never to connect herself with any other person, if Dr. Usher should propose for her. This last parental injunction was not disregarded. She and Usher enjoyed a very considerable portion of conjugal felicity during the protracted period of forty years, at the conclusion of which she left the aged champion of religion, and literature, to finish his course alone, without the comfort or support of his long loved companion. He soon followed her however to the blissful abodes of the blessed. Only eighteen months elapsed between the death of each. They had only one child, and that child a daughter, Elizabeth, who was afterwards married to Sir Timothy Tyrrel, Kt.*

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wrote him when he was at Louvain, and which is the first in Parr's collection, expresses much affection toward him, and intreats him to procure several rare MSS. and Books for him, and to send him some writings, which Stanihurst himself wrote, and published.

* Dr. John Milner in his tour through Ireland, asserts that an "immediate decendant" of Archbishop Usher's, the Rev. James Usher, "betaking himself to the controversy, carried on between his ancestor, and Fitz-Symmonds, was so overpowered and convinced by the arguments of the latter, that he abandoned the religion in which he had been educated, and embraced that of the ancient Church." He cannot have been Usher's *immediate descendant*, as Usher had no son, neither is it possible he could have studied the controversy carried on between his ancestor and Fitz-Symmonds as

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A. D. 1615, a convocation of the Clergy was assembled to arrange matters relative to the Irish Church. At this convention the Irish articles of Religion were drawn up by Usher, according to an order of the Synod, of which he was a member. It has been asserted that these articles did not accord with those which were adopted by the English Church; but it is by no means probable, that the then Lord Deputy Chichester would have been ordered by King James to sign them in his name, if they really were considered heterodox, or contrary to the sentiments of the English Reformers. James was too good a theologian to be thus imposed on. Their agreement may appear fully from a just and impartial comparison of each with each, and from this circumstance that the Synod of 1635, at the same time that they adopted the articles of the Church of England to prove their conformity with them, still publicly retained the articles, 104 in number, which were promulgated by the Synod of 1615. As these articles decidedly inculcated those doctrines, which are usually called calvinistical, but which were in fact embraced by all the reformed Churches,* his enemies, for enemies he had in common with all those who living godly in Christ Jesus, profess the truth in its unadulterated simplicity, represented him as a Puritan to King James.† But the blessed God, who causeth "all

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it is no where extant. This account, if true, would only prove the decided enmity of the human heart against God, which, as in this instance, so obstinately rejects truth, and embraces falsehood, although the one is pourtrayed in all its loveliness, and the other depicted in its native and repulsive deformity.

* In proof of this assertion consult Mathias's "Inquiry into the Doctrines of the Reformation, &c."

† Dr. Parr has published a letter dated 24th October, 1620, addressed to Dr. Usher, from Emanuel Downing, an Irish Clergyman, to prove that the term Puritan was at that time indifferently applied to all pious and orthodox ministers, to injure them in the estimation of King James, by whom the Puritans were not regarded with any emotions of love. In this letter we are informed, that the Priests finding they could "no longer prevail with their juggling tricks" adopted a new device: "They have now," says he, "stirred up some crafty Priests, who very boldly rail both at ministers and people, saying, they seek to sow this damnable heresy of Puritanism among them; which word though not understood but only known to be most odious to his Majesty makes many afraid to join themselves unto the Gospel." To prevent a greater mischief "he recommends a petition to be presented to his Majesty, to define a Puritan, whereby the mouths of those scoffing enemies would be stopped, and if his Majesty be not at leisure, that he would appoint some good men to do it for him." Definition of terms has been much recommended by Mr. Locke, to controvertialists.

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things to work together for good to them who love him," caused considerable advantages to accrue to him from the impotent malice of his accusers. For Usher having occasion to visit England about the latter end of the year 1619, the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, being fully sensible of the scandal, gave him the following recommendatory letter to the Privy Council of England:

May it please your Lordships,

The extraordinary merit of this bearer, Mr. Dr. Usher, prevaileth with us, to offer him that favour, which we deny to many that move us, to be recommended to your Lordships: and we do it the rather, because we are desirous to set him right in his Majesty's opinion, who it seems hath been informed, that he is somewhat transported with singularities, and unaptness to be conformable to the rules and orders of the Church. We are so far from suspecting him in that kind, that we may boldly recommend him to your Lordships, as a man orthodox, and worthy to govern in the Church, when occasion shall be presented. And his Majesty may be pleased to advance him; he being one that hath preached before the State here for eighteen years: and has been his Majesty's Professor of Divinity in the University these thirteen years, and a man who has given himself over to his profession: an excellent and painful preacher, a modest man, abounding in goodness: and his life and doctrine so agreeable, as those who agree not with him, are yet constrained to love and admire them. And for such an one we beseech your Lordships to understand him; and accordingly to speak to his Majesty; and thus with the remembrance of our humble duties we take leave.

Your Lordships most humble at command,

AD. LOFTUS, Chanc.	JOHN KING,
OLIVER ST. JOHN,	HENRY DOCWRA,
WILLIAM TUAMENSIS,	WILLIAM METHWOLD,
DUD. NORTON,	FRA. AUNGIERS.

From Dublin, the last of Sept. 1619.

When this character of Usher had been read, King James sent for him, and after a long interview, in which he conversed with him on several learned and religious subjects, he was so remarkably satisfied with him, he ended by exclaiming, "The Knave Puritan is a bad man; but the Knave's Puritan is an honest man." The Bishoprick of Meath was at this time vacant, and King James to express his high opinion of him, without any application from any quarter, voluntarily nominated him to it; and was afterwards in the constant habit of boasting that Dr. Usher was a Bishop of his own making. His *Conge d'Eslire* was sent over immediately, and he was elected to the See by the Dean and

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Chapter. On this occasion he received the following letter from the Lord Deputy, addressed to Dr. James Usher, Bishop Elect of Meath.

My Lord,

I thank God for your preferment to the Bishoprick of Meath: His Majesty therein hath done a gracious favour to his poor Church here: There is none but are exceeding glad that you are called thereunto; even some Papists themselves have largely testified their gladness of it. Your grant is, and other necessary things shall be sealed this day, or to-morrow: I pray God bless you, and whatever you undertake, so I rest

Your Lordship's most affectionate friend,

OL. GRANDISONE.

While he was yet delayed in England, and before he was yet consecrated, a Parliament was convened at Westminster, on the first day of February, 1620. The following passage, extracted by Dr. Parr from his diary, relates some circumstances which occurred at this time. "I was appointed by the House of Parliament, to Preach at St. Margaret's, Westminster, Feb. 7. The Prebends claimed the privilege of the Church, and their exemption from Episcopal Jurisdiction for many hundred years, and offered their own service: whereupon the House being displeased, appointed the place to be at the temple. I was chosen a second time; and Secretary Calvert, by the appointment of the House, spoke to the King that the appointment of the House might stand: The King said, it was very well done. February 13, being Shrove Tuesday, I dined at Court: and betwixt four and five I kissed the King's hand, and had conference with him touching my Sermon. He said, I had charge of an unruly flock, to look unto the next Sunday. He asked me how I thought it could stand with true divinity, that so many hundred should be tied, upon so short warning, to receive the Communion upon a day, all could not be in charity, after so late contentions in the House: many must needs come without preparation, and eat their own condemnation: That himself required all his Household to receive the communion, but not all the same day, unless at Easter, when the whole Lent was a time of preparation. He bade me tell them, I hoped they were all prepared, but wished they might be better. To exhort them to unity, and concord: To love God first, and then their King and Country: To look to the urgent necessities of the times, and the miserable state of Christendom, with *Bis dat, qui cito dat*, (He doubly gives, who gives with speed.) Feb. 18, the first Sunday in Lent, I preached at St. Margaret's, Westminster, to them; and February 27, the House sent Sir James Perrot, and Mr. Drake to give me thanks, and to desire me to print the Sermon, which was done accordingly; the Text being upon the first of the Cor. x. 17. "For we being many, are one Bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that

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one Bread." *The communion of Saints* here spoken of, he considered in two points of view, the fellowship they have with the *Body* laid down in the beginning, and the fellowship which they have with the *Head* laid down in the end of the verse. In explanation he quotes the following passage of 1 John i. 3, "That which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us; and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and his Son Jesus Christ." Let them therefore, he adds, that walk in darkness, brag as much as they list of their good fellowship: this blessed Apostle assures us, that such only as do walk in the light, have fellowship one with another; even as they have fellowship with God, and his Son Jesus Christ, whose blood shall cleanse them from all sin, and to what better company can a man come, than "to the general assembly and Church of the first born, &c. Heb. xii. 23, 14." No fellowship, doubtless, is comparable to this Communion of Saints. After these observations he enlarges on believers partaking of one Bread, as a proof of their being one Body in Christ, and every one members one of another, and declares the use which we are to make of this wonderful conjunction, to be two fold: 1, "That there should be no scism in the body. 2, That the members should have the same care one for another." Having considered the union of the Members of the Body with each other, he next considers their union "with the Head, even Christ, who is the main foundation of this heavenly union. Out of him," says he, "there is nothing but confusion; without him we are nothing but disordered heaps of rubbish, by him it is that we being many are one Bread and one Body, being all partakers of that bread spoken of in the preceding verse; the Bread which we break is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?" He next examines the meaning of the word Bread, as comprehending not only the Bread *of the Lord*, but also *the Lord himself*, the living Bread which came down from Heaven; and then regards the Sacrament in the first place, as symbolical and relative. Under which head he considers it as having a twofold relation to the thing signified, the one of a *sign*, the other of a *seal*. When speaking of it as a seal he makes the following admirable observations: "He that hath in his chamber the picture of the French King, hath but a bare sign, which may possibly make him think of that King when he looketh on it; but showeth not that he hath any manner of interest in him. It is otherwise with him, that hath the King's great seal for the confirmation of the title, that he hath unto all the lands and livelihood, which he doth enjoy. And as here the wax that is affixed to those letters patent, however for substance it be the very same with that which is to be found every where, yet being applied to this use, is of more worth to the Patentee, than all the wax in the country beside: so standeth it with the outward element in the matter of the Sacrament. He proceeds next to consider the inward thing signified: first, what it is we receive; not only the benefits which flow from Christ, but Christ himself; we ar partakers of Christ, and members of his body; secondly how, and in what manner we receive it, it is spiritually,

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" *the quickening spirit* descending downward from the Head, to be in us a fountain of supernatural life; and a *lively faith* wrought by the same spirit, ascending from us upward, to lay fast hold upon him, who having by himself purged our sins, sitteth on the right hand of the Majesty on high." Having insisted on the union of the Members in the Body and to the Head, he next very copiously enlarges on the members being disunited from those who were not of the same body, the necessity of their being dissevered, especially from Idolators, which he proves the Papists to be, and enters minutely into the idolatry of the Romish Church; after which he concludes.

The Lord Bishop Elect returning the succeeding year into Ireland, was then consecrated there, by the Lord Primate Hampton; and entered on the execution of the episcopal office, with the justest conception of its importance, a conscientious resolve to fulfil its duties, and a determination never to relinquish that constancy of preaching, with which the course of his ministry had previously been marked. He knew no reason why a plant, which grew, flourished, and exhaled its odours in the gardens of humble life, should wither, withhold its fragrancy, and die, when transplanted to the parteres of the great. He saw no cause why a person, who endeavoured to be faithful in a situation of minor trust, should consider himself absolved from all obligation, when advanced to one of more responsibility. Accordingly being conscious that his duty as a Bishop did not merely consist in the appointment of Pastors over the several congregations within his jurisdiction, or the decision of ecclesiastical causes, he still bound himself, to the faithful discharge of his ministerial functions, by the motto to his Episcopal seal, "*Væ mihi, si non evangelizero,*" woe be unto me if I preach not the Gospel. "Being thus advanced," says Dr. Parr, "his province and employment might be altered, but not his mind, nor humble temper of spirit: neither did he cease to turn as many as he could from darkness to light; from sin, and Satan to Christ; by his preaching, writing, and exemplary life." Would to God that such characters more abounded, and that more were to be found, who with Usher adopted for their model that character, which Augustine gave of the admirable Ambrose, "that he heard him *every* Lord's Day *rightly dividing the word of truth* unto the people," *Et eum quidem in populo verbum veritatis recte tractantem omni die Dominica audiebam!* Man may preach Sunday after Sunday, but if the word of truth be not faithfully taught, and rightly divided, such preaching will not only be in vain, but will redound to the eternal confusion of such preachers. It may truly be observed by Ministers, with him, in the words he used at Wanstead when preaching before the King, "let us preach never so many Sermons unto the people, our labour is lost, as long as the foundation is unlaid, and the first principles untaught, upon which all other doctrines must be builded."

In October, 1622, our Prelate preached a sermon before Lord Falkland, on his arrival in Ireland, as Lord Deputy, which excited considerable offence

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among the Romanists, as they represented it to be an exhortation to the new Governor, to draw the sword against the enemies of the established Church. It must be granted he was "too good and peaceable a man" to desire "sanguinary measures," but he was also too wise not to know, that a free and unguarded toleration of Popery would be alike dangerous to religion, and the state. While he abhorred persecution, he knew restraint to be imperative. He was persuaded of what Dean Milner has since observed, that "* the Government has a right to restrain men, and oblige them to keep their idolatry to themselves, the same right as to oblige vessels to perform quarantine, when there is reason to suspect the plague." Had this mode been ever since continued, the Idols, and pernicious superstitions of Papal invention would have long since expired in Ireland, as they did in England, and the feuds of this poor distracted Country, would with them, have long since been buried in their common grave. The account of this matter is thus related by himself in a letter to Lord Grandison:

My very good Lord,

I had purposed with myself long ere now to have seen your Honor in England; which was one reason, among others, why I did forbear to trouble you hitherto with any letters. But seeing I think it will now fall out, that I shall remain here this winter, I thought it my duty, both to tender my thankfulness unto your Lordship for all the honourable favours which I have received at your hands, and withal to acquaint you with a certain particular, which partly doth concern myself, and in some sort also the state of the Church in this poor nation. The day that my Lord of Falkland received the sword, I preached at *Christ Church*: and fitting myself to the present occasion, took for my Text those words in the 13th of Romans, "He beareth not the sword in vain." It here showed, 1. what was meant by this sword. 2. The subject wherein that power rested. 3. The matters wherein it was exercised. 4. Thereupon what it was to bear the sword in vain. Whereupon falling upon the duty of the Magistrate in seeing those laws executed that were made for the furtherance of God's service, I first declared, that no more was to be expected herein for the subordinate Magistrate than he had received in commission from the supreme; in whose power it lay to limit the other at his pleasure. Secondly, I wished, that if his Majesty (who is, under God, our Supreme Governor) were pleased to extend his clemency toward his subjects that were recusants, some order notwithstanding might be taken with them, that they should not

* Milner's History of the Church of Christ, 2 Edition, Vol. 2. p. 215

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give us public affronts, and take possession of our Churches before our faces. And that it might appear, that it was not without cause that I made this motion, I instanced in two particulars that had lately fallen out in mine own Diocese: The one certified unto me by Mr. John Ankers, Preacher of Athlone, (a man well known unto your Lordship) who wrote unto me, that going to read prayers at Kilkenny, in Westmeath, he found an old Priest, (and about forty with him,) in the Church; who was so bold as to require him (the said Ankers) to depart, until he had done his business. The other concerning the Friars, was not content to possess the house of Multiferna alone (whence your Lordship had dislodged them) but went about to make collections for the re-edifying of another Abbey Molengarre, for the entertaining of another swarm of Locusts. These things I touched only in general, not mentioning any circumstances of persons or places. Thirdly, I did entreat, that whatsoever connivance were used unto others, the laws might be strictly executed against such as revolted from us, that we might at leastwise keep our own, and not suffer them without all fear to fall away from us. Lastly I made a public protestation, that it was far from my mind, to excite the Magistrates unto any violent courses against them, as one that that did naturally abhor all cruel dealings, and wished that effusion of blood might be held rather the badge of the *Whore of Babylon*, than *of the Church of God*. These points, however they were delivered by me with such limitations, as in moderate men's judgments might seem rather to intimate an allowance of a Toleration in respect of the general, than to exasperate the state unto any extraordinary severity: yet did the Popish Priests persuade their followers, that I had said, the sword had rusted too long in the sheath, whereas in my whole Sermon, I never made mention either of rust or sheath; yea some also did not stick to give out, that I did thereby closely tax yourself for being too remiss in prosecuting of the Papists in the time of your Government. I have not such diffidence in your Lordship's good opinion of me, neither will I wrong myself so much, as to spend time in refelling so lewd a calumniation. Only I thought good to mention these things unto your Lordship, that if any occasion should be offered hereafter to speak of them, you might be informed in the truth of matters: Wherein, if I have been too troublesome unto you, I humbly crave pardon, and rest,

Your honor's in all duty,

Ever ready to be commanded,

JAC. MIDENSIS.

Dublin, Oct. 16,
1622.

About this time some Magistrates who were violent Romanists, obstinately refused to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. It was resolved to pass the sentence of *premunire* against them, but before this dernier resort

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should be resorted to, the Privy Council determined, fully to apprize them of the dangers to which they were exposed, and the legality of the oath which they were called upon to take. The Bishop of Meath was accordingly appointed to convey, to these misguided Papists, the merciful resolves of Government. In the fulfilment of this duty, his Lordship delivered a discourse, in which he established the supremacy of all Princes within their own dominions, and proved that the Bishop of Rome had no lawful claim to any Ecclesiastical or Spiritual Supremacy within these Realms. This speech had the desired effect, the scruples of several offenders were removed, the oath was taken, and all the consequences of disobedience avoided. So well pleased was his Majesty with Usher's defence of his authority, that he appointed him a Privy Counsellor not long after, and wrote him the following letter expressive of his approbation :

JAMES REX.

Right Reverend Father in God, and Right Trusty and Welbeloved Counsellor, We greet you well. You have not deceived our expectation, nor the gracious opinion We ever conceived both of your abilities in learning, and your faithfulness to Us and our Service. Whereof, as we have received sundry testimonies both from our precedent Deputies, as likewise from Our Right Trusty and Welbeloved Cousin, and Counsellor, the Viscount Falkland, our present Deputy of that Realm; so have we now of late, in one particular, had a further evidence of your Duty and Affection, well expressed by your late carriage in Our Castle Chamber there, at the censure of those disobedient Magistrates, who refused to take the oath of supremacy. Wherein your zeal for the maintenance of our Just and Lawful Power, defended with so much Learning and Reason deserves our Princely and gracious thanks; which We do by this our letter unto you, and so bid you farewel.—Given under our Signet, at our Court at Whitehall, the eleventh of January, 1622. In the Twentieth Year of Our Reign, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, and Our Right Trusty and Welbeloved Counsellor, the Bishop of Meath.

This year he published his treatise on *the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and Britons*. This work chiefly consists of extracts from the various writings of our ancient Saints, and Monks, at that proud period of Erin's and of Albion's glory, when Religion and Learning sought their shores, and took refuge in their venerable woods; at what time they fled from the intolerant and persecuting reign of Superstition and Ignorance. The passages adduced in this work, indisputably prove that the Clergy then not only permitted, but strenuously enjoined the reading of the *Holy Scriptures*: That the Doctrines they

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preached, agreed with those the Reformers taught, respecting *Predestination, Grace, Free-will, Faith, and Works, Justification, and Sanctification;* That the notions of *Purgatory and prayers for the dead*, were not entertained by them; and that in fact none of the distinguishing sentiments of *Popery* were embraced by them. In this view of national divinity he evidenced considerable research, and deprived the Romanists of one of their favourite appeals, in defence of their ungodly superstitions, the supposed antiquity of their tenets. He dedicated it to his esteemed friend Sir Christopher Sibthorpe, Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, and afterwards reprinted it in London, A. D. 1681.

Two years after his appointment to the Bishopric of Meath, the Privy Council of Ireland received a letter from King James to give him permission to repair to England, to complete his work on the antiquities of the British Churches. The commencement of this letter is thus quoted by Parr:

JAMES REX,

Right Trusty and Welbeloved Cousin, &c. We greet you well. Whereas We have heretofore in our Princely judgment made choice of the Right Rev. Father in God, Dr. James Usher, Lord Bishop of Meath, to employ him in collecting the antiquities of the British Church, before, and since the Christian Faith was received by the English nation, and whereas We are also given to understand, that the said Bishop hath already taken pains in divers things in that kind, which being published, might tend to the furtherance of Religion, and good Learning; Our pleasure therefore is, that so soon as the said Bishop hath settled the necessary affairs of his Bishopric there, he should repair into England, and to one of the Universities here, to enable himself, by the helps to be had there, to proceed the better to the finishing of the said work. Requiring you hereby to cause our licence to be passed unto him the said Lord Bishop of Meath, under our Great Seal, or otherwise, as he shall desire it; and unto you as shall be thought fit for his repairing unto this kingdom for Our Service, and for his continuance here, so long time as he shall have occasion to stay about the perfecting of those works undertaken by him, by Our Commandment; and for the good of the Church, &c." Such and so great was the estimation in which he was deservedly held! such and so great was the opinion then entertained of his extensive researches! It is to this work I presume that Sir Robert Cotton refers, in a letter which he wrote to Usher, dated March 26, 1622, and of which the following is an extract:—"My honourable Lord, the opportunity I had by the going over of this honourable gentleman, Sir Henry Bourchier, I could not pass over without doing my service to your Lordship in these few lines. We are all glad here you are so well settled to your own content and merit, yet sorry that you must have so important a cause of stay; that all hopes we had to have seen your

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Lordship in these parts is almost taken away; yet I doubt not but the *worthy work* you gave in England the first life to, and have so far happily proceeded in, will be again a just motive to draw you over into England to see it perfected, for without your direction in the sequel I am afraid it will be hopeless and impossible. Let me, I pray you, intreat from your Honor, the copy of as much as you have finished, to show his Majesty, that he may be the more earnest to urge on other labourers to work up, with your Lordship's advice the rest." *Other Labourers* we may hence conclude were not considered competent, and therefore Usher, as we have already seen, received the Royal Command to perfect the work in England, in the execution of which he had *so far happily proceeded.* He accordingly obeyed the mandate, remained a year in England, procured all the information, and consulted all the manuscripts, whether in public or private libraries, which he deemed necessary for the completion of his design. During the time he now abode in England, he was invited by the King to his royal hunting seat at Wanstead in Essex, where he preached a sermon before his Majesty, from Ephes. iv. 13, "Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." In this sermon he observed, "as well the matter of this Building, *We all* as the *structure* of it; and further also considered in the structure, first, the laying of the foundation, *In the unity of the Faith, and of the Knowledge of the Son of God:* secondly, the bringing of the work to perfection, and the raising of it to its just height, *unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.*" Under the first head, he particularly combated the presuming arrogance of Rome, and Rome's Bishop in assuming to themselves the title of Universal Church, and Universal Bishop; and shows that "the Church *reformed* in our days is none other Church than that which was *deformed* in the days of our Forefathers; though it hath no agreement, for all that, with Popery, which is the pestilence that walked in those times of Darkness, and the destruction that walked at noon-day." This sermon he published afterwards by the royal command, and entitled it, *A brief declaration of the Universality of the Church of Christ, and the Unity of the Catholic Faith professed therein.*

On his return to Ireland in 1621, he was occupied for some time, in answering the challenge of Malone an Irish Jesuit, of the College of Louvain. In collecting materials for which purpose, we find he was engaged in the March of 1622, as he mentions in a letter of that date to Dr. Ward. The matters which he discussed in this book, relate to the opinions entertained by the Fathers concerning Tradition, Real Presence, Auricular Confession, Priest's power to forgive sins, Purgatory, Prayer for the Dead, Limbus Patrum, Prayer to Saints, Images, Free-will, and Merits. About

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three years after the publication of this treatise, Malone wrote a tedious, scurrilous, and abusive answer to it, of which Parr thus speaks: "It was full of quotations, either falsely cited out of the Fathers, or else out of divers supposititious authors; as also forged miracles, and lying Legends, made use of merely to blind the eyes of ordinary readers, who are not able to distinguish gold from dross: all which," he continues, "gave the Bishop so great a disgust, that he disdained to answer a fool according to his folly, and made no reply to him." But some of Usher's friends, Dr. Hoyl, Dr. Sing, and Mr. Puttock, were too jealous of his honor to permit him thus to be maligned, they therefore undertook the task of discovering the subtilty of the Jesuit, and the emptiness of his boasting—and they accordingly very amply and learnedly effected their design.

In the same year he again returned to England, and concluded his work, on the Antiquities of the British Churches, already mentioned. While he was detained in completing this treatise, the Primacy of Ireland became vacant, and King James again took this opportunity of expressing his regard for him, and the opinion he entertained of his worth by appointing him Archbishop of Armagh, although many persons of distinction presented themselves as competitors; and in a short time the appointment was confirmed by the elective voice of the Dean and Chapter of that See. Soon afterwards his Majesty gave him further proof of his royal favour by writing to the Nobleman, who had lately been appointed guardian over the temporalities of Armagh, "forbidding him to meddle with, or receive any of the rents or profits of the same, but immediately to deliver what he had already received unto the receivers of the present Archbishop, since he was employed in England about his Majesty's special service, &c." It is by no means surprising that a man of Usher's erudition, piety, and talents, should so signally have commanded the admiration and love of Kings, Nobles, and Dignitaries. Nor is it by any means strange that a man of his character and integrity should so remarkably have overcome the prejudices of party, silenced the clamours of opposition, and ingratiated himself with men whose principles were avowedly hostile to those he held, and for which he ever professed so conscientious and rigorous a regard. At the very moment when James conceded all that was demanded by France in favour of an Idolatrous Church, at what time he was negociating an alliance for his Son with that Court, he promoted him to the Primacy of Ireland, although he was decided in his opposition to Popery, and equally averse also to those theological sentiments which James had now found it convenient to espouse, as adopted by men, who had recently engaged themselves in upholding and extending his Prerogative. When this Monarch terminated his peaceful, and, in many respects, useful reign, which occurred at the period of which we are now writing, his Son Charles, on his accession to the throne, evidenced the same kindness to Usher, by writing a letter under his Privy

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Signet, to the Lord Deputy and Treasurer of Ireland, signifying that, "Whereas the present Archbishop of Armagh had for many years together, "on several occasions, performed many painful, and acceptable services to "his dear Father deceased, and upon his special directions, That therefore "he was pleased as a gracious acceptation thereof, and in consideration of "his said services done, or to be done hereafter, to bestow upon the said "Primate, out of his Princely bounty four hundred pounds, English, out "of the Revennes of that Kingdom." Of what services was this princely bounty an acceptation? It was an acceptation of services professedly rendered against the influence and wider spread of Popery, and for the suppression of its antichristian and idolatrous worship; and yet Charles was solemnly engaged to tolerate the Romanists and their Creed, and was no doubt at home assailed by all the arguments of female allurement to fulfil the compact into which he entered. It is highly probable too, that in the Cabinet also his Arminian advisers were not silent in dissuading him from conferring any mark of favour on a man; whom they certainly regarded as too nearly corresponding, in his system of faith, with the first Reformers. Nor was Royalty alone enamoured of his worth, even the bigotted, and persecuting Laud found it in his heart to tolerate him, although he corresponded in religious sentiment with those, against whom this Minister had caused some very severe enactments to be instituted, against whom he uniformly proceeded with the utmost rigour, and for whom he evidenced the most cordial hatred. Nay, not only did Laud tolerate Usher, he even very warmly professed himself his friend, mostly subscribing himself, *Your Grace's very loving friend, and brother*, at the conclusion of the numerous letters he addressed to him. It was thus this noble Cedar of Lebanus, whose beauties we have been considering, having taken deep root in the Lord's Vineyard, spread its branches wide and upward, defied the storms of faction, and adversity, and remained immoveable, amid all the assaults of Satan, having as it were

"Cast anchor in the rifted rock,"

deriving all its comliness and vigour from Heaven, and commanding even the admiration of enemies.

The Lord Primate Elect was detained for a long time in England by a quartan ague, with which he was extremely afflicted. While yet a convalescent, and suffering from the effects of his indisposition, he was invited by Lord Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Peterborough, and his Lady, to his Lordship's seat at Drayton, in Northamptonshire. His Lordship was a zealous Romanist, and was hence very desirous to proselyte his Lady, who was a zealous Protestant. She selected Usher as the defender of her cause. He appointed, as the supporter of his question, his own confessor, a Jesuit, who had changed his real name of Rookwood for that of Beaumont, as his Brother Ambrose had been executed for being an accomplice in the

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Gun-Powder Treason. Usher, being still the same active individual, anxious for the conversion of sinners, and the glory of the Supreme Being, very willingly accepted the challenge. Accordingly, being arrived at the place appointed for the disputation, where he found a very copious Library of the ancient Fathers, it was resolved, that the conference should relate to the chief points in dispute between the Church of Rome, and ours, and particularly that the Religion maintained by public authority in the Church of England, was no new Religion, but the same that was taught by our Saviour, and his Apostles, and ever continued in the Primitive Church during the purest times. For the space of five hours on each of three successive days had Usher sustained the part of Respondent, when on the fourth, the day on which according to his own regulation, the Jesuit had agreed to undertake that office, no Jesuit appeared. The Primate was considered by him too skilful a disputant, to be admitted as his examiner, in matters where he must fully have been aware either of his own ignorance or error; and therefore he addressed a formal apology to Lord Mordaunt, declaring, that all the arguments he had formed for his defence, had escaped his memory, and imputing the cause of his misfortune to a just judgment of God upon him, for undertaking of his own accord, without the license of his superiors, to engage in a disputation with a person of so great learning and eminence. If it was a *just judgment* of God upon him, it was no less a *just exposure* of his errors. This conduct was justly regarded by the Baron as a disgraceful subterfuge to avoid the odium of defeat. He accordingly awarded to Usher the palm of victory. After some further conversation with the Archbishop he was persuaded that the principles he had hitherto espoused were erroneous and pernicious, he thence ingenuously renounced them, and not only embraced those publicly professed in the Protestant Churches, but became vitally influenced by the *Word of the Truth of the Gospel.* So sensibly did Lady Mordaunt regard the obligations under which she was now placed by Usher, as being the medium of her husband's conversion, that she afterwards paid him the kindest and most affectionate attentions, in the season of his distress, the circumstances of which are yet to be related. The lying Beaumont, we must not forget to mention, was so signally discomfited, that Challoner, a secular Priest, in an attack which he had some occasion to make against him, admonished him to beware of Drayton House, lest he should happen to encounter another Usher, and be again put to flight, to the great disgrace both of himself, and his profession. *Magna est veritas, et prævalebit.* Truth is too mighty to be vanquished! Error too feeble to conquer! The latter indeed may at times bear rule, but the approach of truth must ever cause the termination of her sway. Although fascinating delusions fostered by habit, and strengthened by prejudice, are seldom detected with willingness, yet yield they must, in most cases, to the bright shining of truth, whose piercing rays seldom fail of penetrating the thin and gaudy dress they wear.

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The Lord Primate having dispatched all his affairs in England, and being fully re-established in health, returned to his native country early in January 1626. Being now Head of the Irish Church, he omitted nothing which might either encrease the purity of its doctrines, or its discipline, reform the abuses which existed, correct the predominant evils of the time, promote the welfare of Society in general, or of the Monarch in particular. His disinterested conduct in promoting the service of his King, to whom he was ever loyal, and the benefit of his country, to which he was ever attached, is fully evidenced by Lord Falkland's acknowledgment, contained in the following extract of a letter addressed to him by that Nobleman, and dated March 15, 1626:—"Your judicious apprehension of the perils which "threaten the Peace of this Kingdom, by which your dutiful consideration of "the King's wants through his other manifold occasions of expense, together "with your zeal to his service, is clearly manifested, by conforming your "Tenants to the good example of others, to join with the rest of the "inhabitants, in contributing to the relief of the new supplies, and other "souldiers sent hither for the public defence, notwithstanding your privileges "of exemption, by Patent, from such Taxes; which I will take a fitting "occasion to make known to his Majesty, for your Honour." Tis seldom we find any one inclined to forego the privileges annexed to office, for men generally are anxious to enforce the exemptions attached to their particular callings, as they imagine they are thus rendered superior to their neighbours. His Grace's first attention, after he was invested with his new dignity, was directed to the actual state of his Clergy, their conduct and their preaching, admonishing the faulty, encouraging the active, and advising all. He was chiefly anxious to enforce the perusal, and study of the sacred volume, and to induce them to adopt its holy precepts as the rule of their lives, its divine system of Religion as the matter of their faith, and its message of gratuitous mercy through a crucified Saviour, as the subject of their sermons. He was aware, that in the public visitations of the Clergy, his whole duty to them was by no means discharged, and as according to the apostolic injunction he was *given to hospitality*, it was his constant practice to bring them frequently within the operation of his own chastened judgment and informed mind, at his own table. Here his conversation was eminently instructive. The learned owned him more learned than themselves, and the unlearned culled, in this their occasional intercourse with him, some of the most luxuriant and profitable produce of his laborious researches. But while he might have amused them with the blaze of mere literary knowledge, he remembered that their souls as well as their intellects required to be informed. In endeavouring therefore to effect the improvement of both, it was usual with him to direct their attention chiefly to the consideration of those subjects which most nearly related to their eternal interests. He hence always endeavoured to unfold the meaning of such passages of Holy Writ as most clearly enforced some important doctrine, enjoined some

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practical duty, or appeared difficult in their import. He also put into requisition the assistance of the clerical friends who visited him, for two hours every evening, in examining and collating the different versions of the Bible Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, while he himself carefully committed to writing all the *variæ lectiones*, which occurred in the course of their reading. Such was the manner in which this excellent Prelate occupied his own, and taught others to employ their time. Bernard, in considering the peculiar advantages which they possessed, who were thus admitted to participate in the benefit of his social hours, says, that he often thought with what propriety Sheba's address to Solomon might be applied to him, "Happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and that hear thy wisdom."*

This worthy Primate we must not omit mentioning, always evidenced a very laudable anxiety for the spiritual improvement of his own Household. He was fully aware that he had a most important duty to discharge toward them. He accordingly assembled his family to engage with him in devotional exercises at six every morning, at eight every evening, before dinner also, and before supper. He moreover delivered, every Friday evening, a regular lecture for their fuller instruction in the divine principles of the Gospel, in his private chapel; and on the evening of Sunday, he obliged his Chaplains to expatiate on the principal features of the Sermon, which he himself preached in the morning, in order to impress it the more strongly on the minds of those who were inmates in his house. This opportunity may be taken to mention, that he made the Ministers of the Church at Drogheda, where he himself preached every Sunday morning, enlarge for half an hour in the evening, after each lesson, on the principles advanced in the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Catechism. Dr. Bernard informs us that this practice was found very beneficial, and that its utility was particularly manifested in the deportment and preparation of the Communicants, who were at that time obliged to give in their names, previous to the celebration of the Sacrament. By this means those, who were insensible to the admonitions of their respective Pastors, who were bold enough to expect future happiness on account of their moral worth, or were grossly iniquitous in their lives, were prevented from presumptuously presenting themselves at the Table of the Lord. It were well if this useful practice were now adhered to, and that so many immortal spirits were not taught to consider the mere partaking of the outward elements, a periodical absolution for guilt, to believe it a plenary indulgence for the omission of duty, and commission of crime, until the return of another festival, or to rely on it as a viaticum to Heaven. It is dreadful to think, that such fearful error should be so prevalent, upon a subject of so much importance; and that men should so delude themselves

* 1. Kings, x. 8.

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at the very moment they are taking the Sacramental oath of allegiance to the great Captain of Salvation, and solemnizing the memorials of his death, a death which was undergone that he might be the alone Saviour of his believing people, to the exclusion of all merit in them, as the cause of their justification. Besides his care for the Reformation of the Clergy, he was engaged also very strenuously in correcting the exactions, abuses and evils, which existed in the ecclesiastical courts: insomuch so, that one of his first acts as Bishop, was the censure, and consequent removal of the Chancellor of Meath, when he himself had the immediate care of that Diocese. Respecting his conduct in this particular we shall hereafter have occasion to say more.

As the military strength of Ireland was at this time considered insufficient for its protection, against any intended effort of the united Spanish and French foe, it was thought necessary to encrease it by an additional army of 5000 Foot, and 500 Horse. The Popish party being unfriendly to this measure, as they imagined it was a political stroke to bring them into greater subjection, by the maintenance of a standing force in the Kingdom, to be used as an *argumentum ad terrorem* against them, Lord Falkland in order to reconcile them to its enaction, summoned a general meeting of Protestants and Papists, to take into consideration the propriety of granting to the latter a more extended toleration. This proposal of the Lord Deputy was regarded by our excellent Primate as one, most fatally tending to the subversion of the national religion, and endangering the safety of the realm. To stem the torrent of evil, which he apprehended the adoption of such a system would probably produce, he assembled the Bishops at his own house, and they unanimously agreed with him in subscribing the following protestation, Nov. 26, 1626:

The Religion of the Papists is Superstitious and Idolatrous: Their Faith and Doctrine Erroneous and Heretical; Their Church, in respect of both, Apostatical; To give them therefore a Toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their Religion and profess their Faith and Doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects; For,

1. It is to make ourselves accessary, not only to their Superstitions, Idolatries, and Heresies, and in a word, to all the abominations of Popery; but also (which is a consequent of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the Catholic Apostacy.

2. To grant them Toleration, in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set Religion to sale, and with it the Souls of the People, whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood: and as it is a great sin, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence; the consideration whereof, we commend to the

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wise and judicious. Beseeching the God of Truth, to make them, who are in authority, zealous of God's Glory, and of the advancement of true Religion; Zealous, Resolute, and Courageous against all Popery, Superstition, and Idolatry, Amen.

JAMES, ARMAGHANUS,	RICHARD, CORK, CLOYNE, ROSSENS,
MAL. CASALLEN,	ANDR. ALACHADENS,
ANTH. MIDENSIS,	THOS. KILMORE ET ARDAGH,
THOS. FERNES, ET LEGHLIN,	THOS. DROMORE,
RO. DUNENSIS, &c.	MICHAEL, WATERFORD, ET LYSMORE,
GEO. DERENS,	FRAN. LYMERICK.

At the time when the assembly was convened, Dr. Downham, Bishop of Derry, took occasion, in a sermon, which he preached before the Lord Deputy and Council, April 23, 1627, to give publicity to the protestation of the Bishops, which we have just cited, and also to reprobate very strenuously the conduct of those who subordinated religion from worldly motives, and set their souls to sale for the gain of earthly matters. We are informed by Prynne in his trial of Laud, that after he had recited the protestation; "he boldly said, *let all the people say Amen*, and suddenly all the whole Church almost shook with the sound that their loud AMEN made." Usher on the succeeding Sunday took up the same argument, before the same auditory, and enlarging on his text which was taken from 1. John v. 15, "Love not the world, nor the things which are in the world," very sharply rebuked all, who like Judas would sell Christ for thirty pieces of silver, or who, following the error of Balaam, would like him accept the wages of unrighteousness. The declaration of the Bishops made the Protestants very jealous of granting any concession to the Papists, the proposals were accordingly withdrawn, and the Lord Primate, by the command of the Lord Deputy and Council, addressed the assembly at some length, proved the need under which the Kingdom lay of an enlarged military force, as it was threatened from without by a foreign enemy, and from within was exposed to the danger of domestic insurgents; he warned the Noblemen and Gentry, who differed with him in point of Religion, that they had no mercy to expect either from Invaders, or from Rebels, for the language of the one would doubtless be similar to that of the Duke of Medina Sidonia on a former occassion, his sword, he said, knew no difference between a Catholic and a Heretick, he came only to make way for his Master; and the language and intentions of the other evidently signified that they sought only their own aggrandisement, and even the estates of their fellow Romanists, whom they regarded as enemies, because descended from English settlers; he next called on all to assist in the defence of the Country, as the danger was common; defended his own conduct, and that of the Bishops in their late proceeding, as the Statute

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called on them, to see it duly executed against the Recusants; advised them to leave it to the royal clemency to grant the desired toleration and in conclusion enforced the obligation of all to render tribute to whom tribute was due. This speech failed notwithstanding in producing the desired effect. No money was granted, no army levied. The event proved that neither were required against a foreign enemy, for no invasion was attempted; but the event also proved that, both were requisite to provide against domestic insurgents. Had the intended army been levied and maintained, it is more than probable that the dreadful rebellion of 1641 with all its sanguinary consequences would never have occurred. So well pleased however was the Lord Deputy with the political talents of this harangue; that he requested a copy of it, which he afterwards presented to his Majesty, to whom it was very agreeable, as it urged so strongly the adoption of measures, which certainly would have been conducive to his own, and the public safety.

Usher seems to have taken a very active part, as a Privy Councellor A. D. 1629, in advising the suppression of Nunneries, Friaries, Mass Houses, &c.; for Lord Falkland, in a letter which he wrote to him, dated April 14, 1629, refers to a Proclamation of this nature which was issued on the first of that month,* reminds him that he had assisted in the consultations respecting it, and requests him to enquire into some particulars of its operation. Usher, in reply, returned a list of the Popish Conventual Houses, at Raphoe; and May 15, 1629, the Privy Council addressed a letter to him on the same subject, making some further enquiries, and stating that they had given directions, to his Majesty's Attorney-General, to proceed against the proprietors of the houses, mentioned by his Grace in his communication to them. The immediate cause of this proclamation appears to have been the riotous behaviour of some Dublin Priests, thus alluded to in a letter from the Privy Council of England to that of Ireland, which was written some time in this year,† "By your letters we understand how the seditious riot, "moved by the Friars, and their adherents at Dublin, hath by your good "order and resolution been happily suppressed; and we doubt not but by "this occasion, you will consider how much it concerneth the good Govern-"ment of that Kingdom, to prevent in time the first growing of such "evils." In this letter his Majesty gave directions, "That the House where "so many Friars appeared in their Habits, and wherein the Reverend Arch-"Bishop, and Mayor of Dublin, received the first public affront, be speedily "demolished; and be a mark of terror to the resisters of authority: and

* It may be found at full length in Rushworth's Collections, part the second, page 21.

† Vide Rushworth's Collections, part the second, p. 33.

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"that the rest of the Houses erected or employed there, or elsewhere in "Ireland, to the use of Superstitious Societies, be converted to Houses of "Correction, and to set idle people on work, or to other public uses, "for the advancement of Justice, good Art, or Trade." If these vigorous measures had always been adopted, designing Papists would never since have been clamorous against the State, or raised their rebel hosts against their Sovereign, they would not, as of late years, have lighted the firebrand of sedition, in their public assemblies, nor would a colony of mischievous Jesuits be suffered in this our day, to colonize our land, or infest it with their poison.

Soon after these measures were adopted, Lord Falkland was recalled to England, and Usher attended him to the place of his embarkation. His Lordship reserved the Primate as the last of his friends, of whom he was to take his leave, and when he approached to bid him farewell, he first prostrated himself upon the earth, and implored his blessing. A scene so affecting could not fail to produce a general sympathy, while the humility of the worthy Nobleman must necessarily have raised him in the estimation of all. Wherever Usher's name is known this circumstance ought surely to be recorded, as well in proof of the respect which he commanded, as in honour of the truly noble personage, who paid him this distinguished mark of admiration.

In the prosecution of his literary researches, the Primate found it necessary to appropriate a certain portion of his annual income for the purchase of Books and Manuscripts. To procure the most valuable of both in the Eastern languages, he maintained a constant correspondence with Mr. Thomas Davies, a Merchant of Aleppo, and a man of piety, as appears from his letters. By the means of this gentleman, he obtained in 1627 the first Samaritan Pentateuch, which was ever brought into the Western parts of Europe. This importation was the more valuable as it mainly corroborated the verity of the Hebrew Pentateuch. Usher himself collated the differences which existed between the two versions, he presented them so collated to his friend Selden, and also transcribed some passages for him, which he required for his *Marmora Arundeliana*. This celebrated Barrister, in the commencement of the work already named, described the version, of which we have been speaking, as written in the Samaritan character, as being perhaps the most ancient, as having been in use before the time of Ezra, and as having been obtained from the East, at great expense, by James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, whom he characterises as a man of *most exalted piety, most singular judgment, and most miraculous learning.* Thus publicly did Selden profess his admiration of the man, to whom at the conclusion of one of his letters he declared, "that no man *more* admired his worth, *truly* admired his worth, or *professed* himself to do so," than what

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he did. Professions of regard to the individual when present, are not always attended by similar declarations of esteem when absent. Bishop Walton, when he was preparing his Polyglot Bible for the press, obtained the perusal of all Usher's oriental papers, from which he derived very considerable profit. These papers have since been deposited in the Bodleian Library.

Bedell

Among many other blessings conferred on Ireland, by our excellent Primate, Bedell was not the least. Advanced to the Provostship of Dublin College, by means of Usher, and being like him, actively engaged in the advancement of national piety, they became mutually attached. When Bedell however was promoted to the Bishoprick of Kilmore and Ardagh, many malignant reports were circulated to the disadvantage of each. Usher was said to have exacted considerable sums of money from the Clergy, in one of his triennial visitations at Ardagh and Kilmore, and to have permitted the existence of many corruptions in his ecclesiastical courts. These aspersions were doubtless gross, when we consider that the amount of what he received was really insufficient to defray the expense of his journey, that he had defended the Clergy of Ardagh from actual poverty, and that he had drawn up at that time a table of the tythes and duties belonging to the Clergy of Kilmore, in order to have them confirmed to them by the regal authority, as they then only held them by the courtesy of the State. Respecting his Court he remarks to Bedell, "complaints I know will be "made against my Court, and your Court, and every Court wherein vice "shall be punished, and that not by the Delinquents alone, but also by "their Landlords, be they Protestants or others, who in this country care "not how their tenants live, so they pay them their rents." The ecclesiastical courts were at this time subject to much abuse and extortion; and seem particularly to have been so in the diocese of Kilmore. To reform them therefore immediately became the object of Bedell's benevolent solicitude. He found his Chancellor in the accustomed receipt of exorbitant fees, and considering his patent to have been granted illegally, he declared it to be void. Usher in adverting to this transaction wrote to him that, "to pronounce in a judicial manner of the validity or invalidity of a "Patent, is no office of the Ecclesiastical, but of the Civil Magistrate;" observing also, that it was better "not to take away the jurisdiction from "the Chancellor, and put it into the Bishops hands alone." For says he, "*all Bishops are not like my Lord of Kilmore.* I know," he continues, "a "Bishop in this land, who exerciseth the jurisdiction himself; and I dare "boldly say there is more injustice and oppression to be found in him alone, "than in all the Chancellors in the whole Kingdom put together; and "though I do not justify the taking of Fees without good ground, yet I "may truly say of a great part of mine own, and of many other Bishop's "Dioceses, that if men stood not more in fear of the Fees of the Court, "than of standing in a white sheet, we should have here among us another

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"Sodom and Gomorrah." Burnet in his life of Bedell reprobates Usher's conduct in this instance, but as he seems not to have had access to the documents just quoted, as what he says respecting it he says unwillingly, and as he thus described our Primate's character admirably well, he deserves to be acquitted. "No man," says he, "had a better soul, and a "more apostolic mind. In his conversation he expressed the true simplicity "of a Christian; for Passion, Pride, Self-Will, or the Love of the World, "seemed not so much as to be in his nature. So that he had all the innocence of the Dove in him. He had a way of gaining people's hearts, and "of touching their consciences, that looked like somewhat of the Apostolical "Age revived; he spent much of his time in these two best exercises, "secret prayer, and dealing with other people's consciences, either in his "Sermons, or private discourses; and what remained he dedicated to his "studies, in which those many Volumes that came from him, showed a most "amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great judgment. So that he "was certainly one of the greatest and best men that age, or perhaps "the world has produced."

A. D. 1630, King Charles announced, by express, to the Lord Deputy, and Council of Ireland, the circumstance of his Son's birth. These tidings were received with peculiar joy, a day of thanksgiving for so great a blessing was appointed, and the Primate was selected by the Lords Justices, Cork and Loftus, to preach on the occasion, which he accordingly did.

Sometime in the year following he published his History of the Benedictine Monk Gottescalcus, of the Abbey of Orbais in France, who flourished in the beginning of the ninth Century, and who, though his opinions were condemned, and though he was himself imprisoned, and suffered the most cruel chastisements, by the decree of two Councils, was nobly constant, never for a moment retracted his principles, but publicly avowed them in two confessions of faith, which are published in the work before us, and which were obtained in MSS. from Corbey Abbey, by the Rev. Biographer of Gottescalc. Usher had originally intended to have introduced the account of this excellent, but persecuted Monk, and of the predestinarian controversy which he excited, in a detailed view of the sentiments entertained on that subject in the early ages. He began to collect materials for this purpose, when he was only twelve years old, but he afterwards gave up the design, when he found his friend Vossius was preparing a work of a similar nature for the press. The Primate derived most of his information respecting Gottescalc from Flodoardus, and other writers of that age; he dedicated the treatise to Vossius, offered it to him to incorporate in a future edition of his work, and entitled it *Gottescalci et prædestinationæ Controversiæ ab eo moto, Historia.* This was the first Latin work ever printed in Ireland.

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About six months prior to the publication of Gottescale, Dr. George Downham, Bishop of Derry, sent into the world a treatise on the final perseverance of believers in their conte·t against sin, and their progress in the way of holiness. Usher furnished him with some materials which were introduced into the thirteenth chapter of the Work, according to Downham's acknowledgment to him in a letter, dated April 24, 1630. As our Primate had contributed some of the matter he was no doubt favourable to the contents of the book, and anxious for its circulation, it must therefore have been very grating to his feelings to have received the Royal Mandate to suppress it. Laud had previous to this obtained the King's Signature to *instructions* which he himself had drawn up, and which were addressed to the Arch-Bishops and Bishops of England and Ireland, in which orders were given for the suppression of all writings wherein any reference was made to the controverted theological subjects of the day, and the silencing of those Ministers who recurred to them in their discourses. Laud always alive to the advancement of his own party, rigorously enforced the execution of these mandates against every Preacher who even slightly hinted against, and every writing that even obscurely, and in an isolated passage, appeared unfavourable to his own sentiments; while on the contrary he not only permitted, but even sanctioned every person, who in his preaching inveighed against the principles to which he himself was hostile, or in his writings defended the opinions which he himself espoused. Such was Laud in the plenitude of his arbitrary power, such the tyranny he exercised over the Church. The Bishop of Derry's work was too skillfully directed against this bigot's views to be allowed free course. He therefore induced the King to write to the Arch-Bishops of Canterbury and Armagh, to issue their warrants for the suppression of every copy which remained of it. They of course obeyed. Usher however informed him that the greater part of the edition had been sold, and expressed his assent in a letter quoted by Prynne in his *Canterbury's Doom*, to an observation of Laud's remarking, "in the History of Gottescalcus your Lordship may see your own observation fully verified, that after Prelates had written against Prelates, and Synods against Synods, these things would have no end until both sides became weary of contending." In endeavouring to extenuate his own procedure, it is probable that Laud thus excused himself by representing it as his wish to prevent the rise of controversy, as never being productive of good, and as being then only concluded when the combatants were fatigued by protracted hostilities. Had this been his real object it might perhaps have been well to have effected it, but this was not his purpose, for if it were, no controversial writing whatever, either against or in favour of the predestinarian doctrines, or any other subject, would have been suffered to issue from the Press.

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About this time a circular letter was addressed to the Irish Arch-Bishops by Charles, desiring them to give a special charge to the Bishops within their jurisdiction to exhort the Clergy in their several Dioceses, "That all of them be careful to do their duty by Preaching and Catechising in the Parishes committed to their charge, and that they live answerable to the doctrines which they preach to the people." He mentioned in the beginning of the letter that he had taken into his special consideration the information he had received from the Privy Council of Ireland, respecting the increase and growth of the Romish Faction, and the neglect of the Clergy whom he said were "not so careful as they ought to be, either of God's service, or the honour of themselves, and their profession, in removing all pretences of scandal in their lives and conversation." This communication was more grateful to our Primate's feelings, than that which he had lately received. It animated his zeal, and warmed all the feelings of his mind. He diligently endeavoured to reform the abuses which existed in his own Province, most of which were already rectified, and sought to reclaim his deluded countrymen, who had from infancy been wedded to the superstitions of Rome, frequently, and familiarly conversing with those he knew, and inviting all who lived near him to his house, when he always dwelt mildly on the errors they espoused, and often times was wonderfully successful in persuading them of the deceits which were practised for their delusion, and in leading them to an experimental knowledge of the truth of those doctrines which were taught in the Reformed Churches. This line of conduct he also recommended very warmly to the Bishops and Clergy of his Arch-Diocese, seeking if possible to induce them by their preaching and living to stay the torrents of superstition, and defend the bulwarks of the Church. "Nor was his care confined only," says Parr, "to the conversion of the ignorant Irish Papists, he also endeavoured the reduction of the Scotch and English Sectaries to the bosom of the Church, as it was by law established, conferring and arguing with divers of them, as well Ministers as Lay-men, and shewing them the weakness of those scruples and objections they had against joining with the public service of the Church, and submitting to its Government and Discipline; and indeed the Lord Primate was now taken up in conferences with all sort of persons, or in answering letters from learned men abroad, or else such as applied themselves to him for his judgment in different points in divinity, or resolutions in cases of conscience; that whoever shall consider this, as also his many civil, and Ecclesiastical Functions, together with the constant course of his studies, must acknowledge that none but one of his large capacity could be ever sufficient for so many, and so different employments."

A. D. 1632. The Lord Primate published his *Veterum Epistolarum Hybernicarum Sylloge*, a collection of Ancient Irish Letters; some in prose and others in verse, from and to the Bishops and Monks, who flourished

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between the years 562 and 1180, most of them relating to the affairs of the Irish Church, many of them to the celebration of Easter, and all of them to some matter in religion. Few of them had previously been published: they were chiefly found among the manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, and added much to the literary character of the Editor, already greater than that of any of his contemporaries.

A. D. 1634. The truly Right Reverend Subject of this narrative was commanded by the Lord Deputy Wentworth to draw up a statement respecting the precedency of his See over that of Dublin, as the Arch-Bishop of the latter had denied its legality, and claimed it for his own. This task he at first declined as being too invidious, but being frequently urged to undertake it, he at length obeyed, and very satisfactorily, and learnedly established the Antiquity and Primacy of his See, which was accordingly confirmed by the King and Council. He also was allowed to take precedence of the Lord Chancellor, "which," says Parr, ("he being above "such trifles) was not at all able to elate him." Heaven-born spirit, may thy mantle be transmitted to all thy successors, and all thy Brethren in the Episcopal Office!

At the opening of the Irish Parliament in 1635, he preached before the Lord Deputy, and assembled Legislature at St. Patrick's Cathedral. The subject which he selected for his Sermon was Genesis, xlix. 10, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, till Shiloh come, and to him shall the gathering of the people be." Syncronising with the opening of Parliament this year was the opening of a memorable convocation of the Irish Clergy. "At it," says Parr, (whose sources of information were doubtless more accurate than those of a modern Biographer,) "the Lord Primate at the instigation of the Lord Deputy, and Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, thought fit to propose, that to express the agreement of the Church of Ireland with that of England, both in doctrine and discipline, the thirty-nine articles should be received by the Church of Ireland, which proposal was thereupon consented to by both Houses of Convocation, and the said articles were declared to be the confession of Faith of the Church of Ireland, but without abrogating or excluding the former articles, made in 1615."—He also thus answers the assertion of a well known casuist that the reception of another set of articles, was as virtual an abrogation of the former, although they were not actually annulled, as the giving of the New Covenant was an abrogation of the Old, by observing, that "this were a good argument if the articles of the Church of England were as inconsistent with those of Ireland, as those two Covenants are with each other, but," he adds, "if they differ no more than the Nicene does from the Apostles' Creed, (which, though it contains more, yet does not annul the former,)"

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then without doubt the receiving of the Articles of the Church of England was no abrogation of those of Ireland."—It appears strange that after so satisfactory a statement of the matter, the old misrepresentations of a bigotted and calumniating individual should be revived. Are we to imagine, admit it as we must, that "Wentworth's fundamental principle in his Government of Ireland was to render it in every respect a dependency on the Crown of England,"* and that Laud "from his personal love of power," "his notions of the necessity of uniformity in Religion," and "his attachment to the Armenian tenets in opposition to the Calvinistic," might have wished "for the abrogation of the Irish Articles of Faith," as in them "Usher had given a decided bent towards the latter system," are we to imagine that he could blindly have been drawn into a magic circle either by Laud's or Wentworth's wand, and thus have been induced to destroy the foundation, which he himself had laid for purity of Doctrine in the Irish Church, abjure his own creed, and embrace one which he knew to be erroneous? Such tergiversation was never chargeable on him. He never would have proposed the adoption of the English Articles, if their adoption would have cancelled those he wrote, or in any respect have introduced sentiments which he thought repugnant to the Scriptures. Nor, unless persuaded that the two systems of faith were generically identical, would he ever have drawn up the following preamble to the Irish Canons, "For the manifesta-"tion of our agreement with the English Church in the confession of the "same Christian Faith, and in the doctrines of the Sacrament, we receive "and approve the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon between the "Archbishops, Bishops, and body of Clergy in the Synod of London, 1562, "for the removal of differences in opinion, and the establishment of consent "in true Religion. If therefore any one shall hereafter affirm, that any of "the said articles are in any respect superstitious or erroneous, or such as "cannot be subscribed with a good conscience let him be excommunicated, "and not absolved till he shall publicly have retracted his errors."—It was impossible to frame a more explicit adherence to the rule of faith adopted in the Sister Island, but how could it be deemed "submissive?" Such a censure was not merited by him. The fact is, the English Articles were adopted solely with a view of certifying the agreement of the two Churches in the same faith, and uniting them in every particular. Both sets of articles were therefore signed at all ordinations, until the unfortunate contests between the regal and republican parties involved all things in their own confusion. When these contests ceased however, the Irish Articles were not again required to be signed. The independence of the Irish Church had already been asserted, her agreement with the Church of England had already been admitted, and therefore the practise was no longer considered necessary.

* Aikin's Life of Usher, p. 426.

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Always actively engaged in endeavouring to extend the knowledge of divine truth, he published at Dublin, A. D. 1638, an invaluable treatise, entitled *Immanuel, or the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God*. This tract contained the substance of several Sermons he had previously preached on the leading doctrines of the Gospel; and derives its subject from the text he prefixed to it, John i. 14, "The Word was made flesh." Having first mentioned the marvellous circumstance that the Father of Eternity was born in time, and the Mighty God became a child, he next adverts to the manner in which the union of the Divine Person, and the Human Nature was accomplished, dilates on the necessity of the human Nature, being assumed that satisfaction might be made in the nature of the offending party, and that it should be combined with the Divine Person in order to give merit to his atonement, and efficacy to his intercession. These important matters being fully established, he next enlarges on the manner in which the Redemption of the purchased possession is conveyed to the sons of men. As it could be of no value to one who was not related to the purchaser, he proves Christ to have been the nearest of kin to his believing people, not only as being the immediate agent of their birth, and the universal principle by which their nature is sustained, but also as the actual Creator of their new nature whereby they are begotten to a spiritual and everlasting *life*, and by which their resemblance to the first man Adam being removed, the *likeness* of the second man the Lord from Heaven is impressed upon their minds, thus receiving those two things, which every creature receives from him who begets it, *life* and *likeness*. He enlarges separately on those two subjects, and afterwards proves that the bond of union between Christ and Believers, is on his part *the quickening spirit*, which from him as the Head is diffused to their spiritual animation as his members, and on their part *Faith* the prime act of life wrought in them by the same Spirit. He then enlarges on his character as Prophet, Priest, and King, makes some admirable remarks on the ministerial office, throughout shews the necessity of his being both God and man, in several passages refers with much judgment to the Jewish ceremonies as types of Christ, and sums up all with the noble resolve of the Apostle,* "I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord."

The year following he published his long expected and learned work entitled *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, which contains a most ample and satisfactory account of the British Churches, from their first establishment, twenty years after the death of Christ, to the end of the seventh century. He introduced into this work an account of the succession of English and Irish Bishops as far as it could be ascertained, and has given in it a detailed view of Pelagius, and his Heresy, a matter intimately connected with his subject.

* Phil. iii. 8.

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Having spent sixteen years in the vigorous and faithful discharge of his Archepiscopal Functions he was obliged to visit England, for the arrangement of some domestic concerns, early in A. D. 1640. He was accompanied by his wife and family, and intended only to be absent from his See a year. But He whose thoughts are not as our thoughts, intended otherwise. His departure on this occasion was a signal mark, says one of his Chaplains, "of God's special providence, as if, according to the Angel's speech to Lot nothing could be done till he escaped to Zoar." The holy man expected shortly to have visited his native country again, to have dwelt in his own land, and under his own fig tree; but the Irish Rebellion prevented the accomplishment of his purpose, and many were the afflicting circumstances with which his sojourn in England was attended. Many were the forebodings which he had for several years of unusual disasters occurring to the State and to the Country. He had ample opportunity of tracing the principles and feelings of popery, he knew the monster under every disguise it assumed, he perceived its hatred to every thing which was not of its own kind; he was convinced that, though fettered, it yet had power, that its energies unless wholly restrained, possessed too great a resilience, and he dreaded the consequences. Such were some of the last observations he made to his Chaplain Bernard; "I cannot forget," said that Clergyman, "the serious preparation he gave me, at my taking leave of him, for the many sorrows and miseries I should see before I saw him again, and with that confidence as if it had been within view;" and many were the sorrows and miseries Bernard was called upon to witness. He was entrusted with the care of the Primate's Library, and during four months he was besieged in Drogheda, A. D. 1641, the Priests and Friars without exulted in the idea of obtaining so valuable a collection, while the barbarous multitude ardently desired to satiate their fury by burning him, and his friend's books together!

"Dread was the day, and more dreadful the omen."

These desires however were frustrated, and the Primate's Library was forwarded to him early in the next spring to Chester.

On the Primate's arrival in London, whither he went immediately on leaving Ireland, he was appointed Preacher at Covent-Garden, being deprived of the temporalities of his See; but finding the heat of faction too great to be endured, he quitted the tumults of the Metropolis, for the literary retirement of Oxford. Dr. Morris, Canon, and Hebrew Professor at Christ Church, accommodated him with lodgings, in the same building with Dr. Parr, with whom his Grace became extremely intimate, and whom he appointed his Chaplain. On the 5th of November this year he preached a sermon at St. Mary's Church, Oxford, respecting which, Wood has related the following curious circumstance.—He mentioned in it that he had obtained

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two pamphlets, written by Ralph Buckland, a Papist, the one entitled *Seven sparks of an enkindled soul*; the other *Four Lamentations drawn out of the Holy Scriptures*, both printed at Rome in 1603, two years previous to the discovery of the Gun-powder Treason in England, which he proved from many passages in those tracts, was known at the time of their publication at the place where the Whore of Babylon reigneth, and that prayers were there sent up for the prosperous success of it. Wood says however, that he could find no notice of when or where this Book was printed in any part of the volume; but though Wood was unable to do so, yet Usher might have received the intelligence from another quarter, and he assuredly would not have made the observation unless he had sufficient authority to warrant it. After he had resided some months at Oxford, where he enjoyed some very agreeable intercourse with many learned and wise men, he returned for a time to the Metropolis, endeavoured as much as possible to conciliate the King, the Church, and Parliament, and for this purpose even submitted to the Legislature, on one of their debates respecting Church Government, a proposal for reconciling the Puritan and Episcopalian parties. In this proposal he suggested the propriety of having occasional meetings of the Clergy of each Rural Deanery, with their Suffragan as Moderator, to take cognizance of all matters within their respective cures, whose acts might be all referable to monthly Diocesan Synods, with a Bishop or President at their head, or in his absence one of the Suffragans; he suggested likewise that their acts might be subject to the revision of a National Synod, composed of the Archbishops and Bishops, with certain of the Clergy chosen out of each Diocese, that the Archbishop or some Bishop appointed by him might preside, and that these National Synods might again form themselves into National Councils where appeals might be received from inferior Synods, and where ecclesiastical constitutions might be established. This expedient was signed also by Richard Holsworth, and was readily acquiesced in by the Puritans, but rejected by the King, and to his rejection of it his downfall may in a great measure be ascribed. Finding himself therefore unable to mediate successfully between two parties, whose contentions had arisen to such a fearful magnitude, he again returned to the seat of the Muses in 1641, where he took up his abode at his friend Dr. Prideaux's, and published *a discourse on the Origin of Bishops and Metropolitans*; and also another tract entitled, *a Geographical and Historical Disquisition on the Lydian and Proconsular Asia*, in the former he proves that the Episcopal Office owed its rise to the Apostles, existed in the purest ages, was represented by the stars in the right hand of Christ, mentioned in Revelations; and also that the angels of the seven Churches there spoken of, were the Bishops of those cities; and in the latter he defends these opinions by proving that the seven cities were all metropolital seats of civil and sacerdotal Government. His opinion in fact respecting Episcopacy, may very fairly

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be summed up in his own words to Bernard, "that *Episcopus et Presbyter, gradu tantum differunt, non ordine,* and consequently that in places where Bishops cannot be had, the ordination of Presbyters standeth valid; yet on the other side," said he, "holding as I do that a Bishop hath superiority in degree above a Presbyter, you may easily judge that the ordination made by such Presbyters as have severed themselves from those Bishops, unto whom they had sworn canonical obedience, cannot possibly by me be excused from being schismatical." An answer was attempted to his work on the origin of Bishops, by John Milton, whose controversial writings were very far from equaling, either in beauty, force, or truth, that *unpremeditated verse* which raised him to the loftiest pinnacle of poetic greatness, and rendered him the undisputed Prince of Poets. He had now returned from his Continental tour, embraced the profession of School-Master, become the defender of Regicides, the calumniator of Loyalists, and the advocate of social disorder. In fact he had now, as Johnson observes, "adopted the Puritanical savageness of manners" and of course, "that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that fond submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself," according to the observation of Burke, "the spirit of an exalted freedom" had fled from the breast of our immortal Bard.—*Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit.*

We must not forget to relate the very interesting part he was called upon to take previous to his return from London, at the conclusion of one of the most execrable, and barbarous tragedies that ever was exhibited before a civilized audience. He was selected by the unfortunate Earl of Strafford to direct his devotions, confirm his faith, and attend him to the fatal block, where he terminated his earthly course—unfortunate did I say? as far as concerned time, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, was certainly unfortunate: faction, tyranny, and disloyalty conspired against his life, and were successful, but as far as man can judge with reference to eternity, he was doubtless fortunate, for he came off more than conqueror, through Him who loved him, and gave Himself for him. The following testimony borne to him by Whitelock, Chairman of the Committee, which conducted his impeachment,* at once esta blishes the excellence of his character, and the aggravated guilt of his murderers, "certainly never any man acted such a part on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions than this great and excellent person: and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted to remorse, and pity." Such was this great man, whose last speech upon the scaffold, which he addressed to Usher, need only be consulted to prove him a Christian, and a Patriot. In it he declared his attachment to the Church of England;*

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. 4, p. 780.

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"in that Church," said he, "I was born and bred, in that religion I have lived, and now in it I die." To Usher he then professed himself "reconciled to the mercies of Jesus Christ," expressed his "confidence and assurance in the merits of Christ," assured him that his presence was "a great comfort," and beside him he knelt when he addressed his last prayer in this world to the King of Kings and Lord of Lords. But notwithstanding the regard which Lord Strafford thus evidenced toward Usher, consulting him moreover respecting many particulars of his defence, and notwithstanding the respect which Usher paid him visiting him daily during his imprisonment, his Grace was said to have instigated his murder, and to have advised Charles to pass the Bill for his attainder. But the Primate was very far from consenting to his death. The King indeed sent for him, when he was preaching in the Church of Covent Garden, to consult him on the business, but he told the messenger that he was then employed about God's business, and that as soon as he had done he would attend upon his Majesty to understand his pleasure, which he did accordingly, and declared as also the other Bishops, that if his Majesty did not conceive Lord Strafford guilty of the crimes alledged against him he could not in justice condemn him. But condemn him, however unwillingly, he did, and although the language addressed to him by the Parliament then, was indemnity for the past, and security for the future, the condemnation of his innocent Minister was visited on his own head.

A. D. 1641, the Irish Rebels plundered his Country Houses, seized on his rents, destroyed his Tenements, and drove away all his cattle, which were very numerous, and very valuable, nothing having escaped their fury except his Library, as has been already related. So great was the exigence to which he was thus reduced, that he was compelled to sell his Plate, and Jewels, the only valuables remaining, to supply his present need. But these great trials, Parr says, were unable to make "any change in his natural temper, and heavenly disposition, still submitting to God's providence, with Christian patience, and magnanimity, having long learned before to use the things of this world as if he used them not; and in whatsoever condition he was, therewith to be contented." In the midst of these afflictions, the City and University of Leyden entreated him to become their Honorary Professor, and offered him a salary considerably more ample than what had formerly been annexed to that situation. Cardinal Richlieu also invited him to France, promising him a considerable pension, and liberty of conscience. He also wrote to him a letter on the publication of his work *De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum*, full of kindness and respect, enclosing him at the same time, a gold medal of great value, which was enstamped with his own likeness. Usher in return sent him a present of Irish grey-hounds "and other rarities," says Parr, "which that country afforded."—King Charles however thought it wiser to detain him in

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England, and gave him to hold in *Commendam* the Bishoprick of Carlisle, vacated by the death of Dr. Potter. This however he did not enjoy long, for it was seized on by the long Parliament with all other Bishop's lands. They nominally granted him indeed in consideration of his losses in Ireland, and personal merits, compensation of £400 per annum, but mostly withheld the payment of their gratuity, thinking perhaps, like many others, that charity began at home.

At Oxford he still maintained the same habitual course of administering the Balm of Gilead in the name of the heavenly Physician to the diseased souls of his fellow-men. He preached mostly every Sunday, either at St. Olives, or All-Hallows, where he had very large auditories. The first Sunday too after King Charles had retired to Oxford with his shattered army from the dubious battle of Edge-Hill, the first he fought, and where he was nominally victor, Usher was called on to preach before him as also on many solemn occasions, which subsequently occurred. There is much reason to hope that the instruction which this well-intentioned, but weak and ill-advised Monarch, received from the Primate of Ireland was attended with very pleasing and useful consequences.

In the Summer of 1643, the Parliament, who had now assumed to themselves the exercise of the Royal Prerogative, outraged all the principles of the Constitution, and openly proclaimed war against their Monarch, called a meeting of Divines at Westminster to new model the service of the Church of England, and to reduce its discipline to their own notions of Church Government. The King previous to the meeting of their assembly, by Proclamation forbad the convocation, and threatened with severe punishment any person who would disobey his commands. But half his sceptre was now wrested from his hands, and London no longer submitted to his sway. Usher was appointed a member of the assembly, but he had too high and conscientious a regard for the religious establishment with which he was connected, to acquiesce in any measures which would subvert it, too firm an attachment for his King to persist in a measure affecting his Government, to which he refused his sanction, and too great a respect for his commands, knowing from whom he derived his authority, to persevere in an act of disobedience. He therefore never attended any of the deliberations of that august body, and they were too sensible of the affront, to permit him any longer to retain the privilege of being reckoned of their number, they complained of him to the Commons, and the Commons supplied his place with some candidate for republican honors, who better merited their favours. Not satisfied however with depriving him of his honorary situation, the Committee whom they appointed to deprive the Delinquents or Malignants, (the names indiscriminately applied to all Royalists,) of their estates, ordered his Library, which was deposited at Chelsea College,

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error was only prevented by the interference of Dr. Fealty and Mr. Selden, both of them Members of the Assembly, the latter of the Commons, and both of them friends of Usher, who obtained them as a favour for their own use. Many of his papers, manuscripts, and all the letters which he had left behind him were however stolen, and some of his books were lost.

Having now obtained much celebrity at Oxford, as a public instructor, as the vigorous defender of pure undefiled and primitive Christianity, as the supporter of his Monarch's rights, and the Nation's real interest, and the determined foe of Rebellion, Innovation, and Anarchy, the University, who had already incorporated him among their Doctors of Divinity; when they were assembled in Convocation, 10th March, 1644, ordered a certain number of their body to have "his Effigies engraven on a copper-plate with an eulogium under it to be prefixed" to his work then at press, on the Epistles of Ignatius.* The inscription agreed on for the copper-plate was, "James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, the most skilful of primitive antiquity, the unanswerable defender of the Orthodox Religion, the maul of errors, in preaching frequent, eloquent, very powerful, the rare example of an unblameable life." The work for which this engraving was intended, was a new edition of the Epistles of Ignatius collected, and revised, as also a version of them from two old MSS. he had recently found in England; prefixed to the whole was a learned dissertation on the writings of Ignatius and Polycarp, and on the Constitutions and Canons attributed to Clement of Rome. This work was regarded as a considerable augmentation to his literary renown. It was his purpose to have annexed the Epistles of Barnabas to those of Ignatius, but his design was frustrated, as the great fire at Oxford consumed his copy, with the exception of his initiatory remarks on the age, writer, and design of the epistle, which Bishop Fell, having procured from Dr. Bernard, his Grace's Chaplain, introduced, although the conclusion of it was destroyed, into his edition of that Epistle printed at Oxford, 1685.

He published also A. D. 1644, his work *De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum Versione Syntagma.* In this treatise he conjectures that the five Books of Moses were the only part of the sacred writings translated in the time of Ptolemy, and that they having perished in the general conflagration of his great Library, were again rendered into Greek, as also the whole of the Old Testament, by Dositheus the Jew. This version he imagined was generally received instead of the true Philadelphian; that the translator interpolated it as his wishes dictated; and that hence proceeded all the differences between the original and the Greek version. Except in his first

* Wood's Fasti.

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position however, that the Pentateuch alone was translated by the Seventy, he seems not to have been followed by any other writer on the subject.* Besides his observations on the Septuagint he has also added some critical remarks on many other versions.

We learn from Hume, that a Fast on the last Wednesday of every month, had been ordered by the Parliament, at the beginning of those commotions, which rent the nation, and at length dethroned the King; and that "their Preachers on that day, were careful to keep alive, by their vehement declarations, the popular prejudices entertained against the King, against the Prelacy, and against Popery. The King that he might combat the Parliament with their own weapons, appointed likewise a monthly fast, when the people should be instructed in the duties of loyalty and submission to the higher powers. "On one of these occasions Usher preached before his Majesty, on 2 Chron. vii. 14, "If my people, which are called by my name, shal humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from Heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land." It was to him a very pleasing office to expatiate on the obedience of the subject to the sovereign; but he was aware that the principle of loyalty was very far from embracing all the precepts of religion, and as many were then possessed of it, who were extremely immoral in their lives, he as boldly reprobated the prevailing licentiousness of the times, as he did the rebellious procedure of the reigning part of the Commons and their adherents. He also preached before the King on another fast day when his Commissioners for Peace, and the Parliamentary Commissioners for protracted warfare, and the annihilation of all constitutional principles were convened at Uxbridge. His text was James iii. 18, "The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that love peace." He expatiated very largely on the blessings of peace, and on the horrors of war, praying at the same time that the gracious concessions of his Majesty might be accepted by the Rebel Foe. His prayer however, in the inscrutable wisdom of Heaven, was rejected, the concessions were slighted, demands too enormous and extravagant to grant were made; hostilities were renewed, and "the vessel of the state" was now expected to "fly forward in her course toward regeneration with more speed than ever," wafted prosperously on with the propitious gale of aggravated treason, and unprovoked disloyalty.

In this juncture of affairs, the siege of Oxford being meditated by the Parliament forces, and the immediate departure of the King being

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* For a full account of the Septuagint, consult Hamilton's Introduction to the study of the Hebrew Scriptures, Chap. 6.

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resolved on, the Lord Primate determined to leave the Academic Groves, whither he had resorted with so much pleasure to himself and profit to others, and to visit his son-in-law, Sir Timothy Tyrrel, then Governor of Caerdiffe, and General of Ordnance in South Wales. Accordingly having taken leave of his Majesty, he proceeded in company with the Prince of Wales, to Bristol, and from thence continued his route to the place of his destination. Here he was received with the utmost joy and affection by his Son and Daughter, from whom he had been separated during a long interval of time. It is much to be lamented however, that we are not more fully informed respecting the endearing attentions, which they paid their venerable parent, or those interesting scenes of social intercourse in which he must here have found such pleasing relaxation from the severe labours of his study. In this secluded fortress, secure from the dangers and disasters of war, he nearly completed the first part of his annals, pursued with unabated vigor his learned undertakings, had once more the gratification of seeing his respected Monarch, and again had an opportunity of preaching before him, when he retreated to Caerdiffe, in hopes of levying an army in the exhausted regions of Wales, after he had been vanquished in the fatal plains of Naseby, through the imprudent conduct of Prince Rupert Charles no longer able to garrison so many towns, was compelled to remove Sir T. Tyrrel, and the troops he commanded; and Usher, no longer settled, was yet doubting whether he should return to Oxford, and brave the dangers of the embattled plains which intervened, or retreat to the Continent, when the Dowager Lady Stradling kindly inviting him to St. Donates, he resolved to comply with her request. On his way thither, accompanied by his Daughter, they were furiously attacked by a party of Welshmen, who were up in arms in that neighbourhood, to the number of ten thousand men, professing great attachment to the royal cause. He had with him several chests of Books and MSS. which were immediately opened, as also all his other luggage, pillaged without scruple, and distributed into a thousand hands. They next proceeded to drag the Primate and those that were with him from their horses, but some officers, gentlemen of the country, coming up caused the horses and many articles of luggage to be restored, kindly sought, but in vain, to recover the books, which were now very widely dispersed, and brought him to Sir John Auberry's house, where he was very civilly received and entertained that night. "When he had retired himself," says Dr. Parr, "I never saw him so much troubled in my life: and those that were with him before myself, said that he seemed not more concerned for all his losses in Ireland than for this, saying to his Daughter and those who endeavoured to comfort him; I know that it is God's hand; and I endeavour to bear it patiently, though I have too much human frailty, not

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to be extremely concerned, for I am troubled in a very tender place, and He has thought fit to take from me all that I have been gathering together, above these twenty years, and which I intended to publish for the advancement of learning, and the good of the Church." But next morning he was visited by several of the Clergy and Gentlemen of the Country, who kindly condoled with him on the loss he had sustained, and comforted him with the assurance that they would be able to recover for him such books and papers as had not suffered from fire or other accidents. They accordingly notified in all the Churches, that those who had any of them in their possession must immediately restore them to their respective Ministers and Landlords. The notice was obeyed, the books and manuscripts sent in parcels to St. Donate's, and in the course of two or three months the major part were again recovered by the rightful owner. The restoration of what he valued so highly must doubtless have afforded him the utmost delight—*Sit bona librorum* was his constant desire, and if provided with plenty of literary food, he was very far from being solicitous about Horace's second wish, *provisæ frugis in annum copia*, he permitted the morrow to take care of the things of the morrow, thought very little of time, and having his loins girt, was ever mindful of another scene. Would to God that all other literary characters gave the same heavenly tendency to their studies, that this holy patriarchal character gave his!

At St. Donates he spent much time in consulting the books and manuscripts deposited in the Library of the Castle, which had been collected by Sir Edward Stradling, the antiquary, where he procured many valuable matters relative to the antiquities of Wales and Britain. Shortly after his arrival he was afflicted with a very dangerous and severe illness, which ended in a very violent bleeding at the nose that continued for forty hours. The Physicians entertained no hopes of his recovery, he was apparently at the point of death, but suddenly the bleeding abated, and he became gradually restored to his accustomed health and vigour. In the course of his illness he evidenced much patience and submission to the divine will, solemnly warned all who were about him of the danger of deferring the consideration of their eternal interests to the hour of their last sickness, and declared his apprehension that "a death-bed repentance will avail us little if we have lived vainly and viciously, and neglected our conversion, till we can sin no longer" He exhorted them to believe on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to live in holiness of life, "and then," said he, "you will find the comfort of it at your death: and your change will be happy." While he was yet bleeding, a member of the then House of Commons came to visit him, whom he thus solemnly warned, "Sir, you see I am weak, and cannot expect to live many hours, you are returning to the Parliament, I am going to God, my blood and my life is almost spent; I charge you to tell

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them from me, that I know they are in the wrong, and have dealt very injuriously with the King, and I am not mistaken in this matter." So seriously concerned was he at the vile conduct of those republican Daemons! He also assured Dr. Parr on this occasion, in answer to an interrogatory from him, that he had most wrongfully been accused of consenting to the death of his friend Strafford. The King too hearing it very currently reported that the Archbishop had terminated his mortal life, assured Colonel William Legge, and Mr. Kirk, Gentlemen of his Bedchamber, "that he was very sorry for his death, together with high expressions of his piety and merits: but one there present replied, that he believed he might be so, were it not for his persuading your Majesty to consent to the Earl of Strafford's execution; To which the King in a great passion returned, that it was false: For, said the King, after the Bill was past, the Archbishop came to me saying, with tears in his eyes, Oh! Sir, what have you done? I fear this act may prove a great trouble to your conscience; and pray God that your Majesty may never suffer by the signing of this Bill." How fully does this circumstance prove the amiable nature of the Primate's character, and the sensibility of his tender spirit.

During our Prelate's residence in Wales a surreptitious copy of his *Body of Divinity, or the Sum and Substance of the Christian Religion*, was published in London by Mr. Downhame. He had drawn up this work, in the form of question and answer, for his own private use when a young man, without any view towards its publication. He lent copies of it to some importunate friends, by which means it found its way to the press; and A. D. 1653, he published his *Principles of the Christian Religion*, an abridgement of the former, which he had originally extracted for the benefit of his family.

A. D. 1646, being fully re-established in health, fearing to visit London, and ignorant of any place of safety in the kingdom where he could retire, he resolved to visit the Continent, obtained a pass for that purpose from the Earl of Warwick, had prepared a vessel for his voyage, but Molton, the Parliamentary Vice-Admiral, entering the road of Caerdiffe with his squadron, he was obliged to apply for a new pass from him, which was roughly refused, accompanied with a threat that he would take him into custody. Shortly after this disappointment he received a very friendly invitation from the excellent Countess of Peterborough, entreating him to reside with her, promising to secure him from molestation, and warmly expressing her affection and her gratitude to him as having been the means of her husband's conversion, who had now retired from a troublous world to enjoy the blissful visions of his Saviour's glory, and realize the excellence of those divine principles he had imbibed here, through the instrumentality of our holy Prelate. To undertake this journey it became necessary to replenish his

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purse, now entirely exhausted. Unable to provide the means himself, many of his benevolent neighbours, who sympathised with his misfortunes, were induced to remit him several sums of money to a considerable amount, without the privity of each other. He was thus enabled to supply his present need, and to repair the June following to London, where Lady Peterborough then resided, and from this period he was usually an inmate in one or other of her houses. As he passed through Gloucester, his zeal for the cause of his Divine Master induced him to visit Biddle, the celebrated Socinian, who was then dangerously ill. Kipple has thus quoted the circumstance from T. Edwards, that "learned and Godly Divine," Usher "spoke with him and used him with all fairness and pity, as well as strength of arguments to convince him of his dangerous error; a Minister of the city of Gloucester told me the Bishop laboured to convince him that either he was in a damnable error, or else the whole Church of Christ, who had in all ages worshipped the Holy Ghost, had been guilty of Idolatry; but the man was no whit moved by the learning, gravity, piety, or zeal of the good Bishop, but continued obstinate." On his arrival in the Metropolis he gave the necessary information of it to the Parliamentary Committee, at Goldsmith's Hall; who immediately summoned him before them, enquired by whose authority he left London, where he had remained during his absence, and whether Sir Charles Coote or any other person ever asked him to use his influence with the King to grant a toleration of Religion in Ireland. He replied that he had a Parliamentary pass to Oxford, and declared that neither Sir C. Coote or any other person ever sought to make him exercise such a power over the King, and also that on the arrival of the Irish Agents at Oxford, he entreated his Majesty not to enter into any regulation respecting religion in Ireland without consulting him, that this request was acceded to, that the King and Council declared against a toleration, and that he himself always regarded such a measure as involving the danger of the Protestant Religion. The Chairman of the Committee then offered him the negative oath, which had purposely been formed for the adherents of the King, but he requested them to allow him time to consider it, which being granted he retired, and was never summoned to appear again, for which he was indebted to the kind interference of Selden, and his other friends in Parliament. He soon afterwards attended Lady Peterborough to her residence at Rygate in Surry, where he usually preached either in the Parish Church, or in her Chapel, and where he was visited by the most respectable Gentlemen and Clergy, that they might enjoy the advantage of his improving conversation, and derive benefit from his instructions in religion.

Early in the Year 1647, he was appointed Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn, and was allowed very commodious, well furnished

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apartments by the Benchers, one of whom was his friend Hales, afterwards Lord Chief Justice. He was here treated with every respect and honour by his new congregation, and preached regularly every term for eight years. At the expiration of that period, having lost many of his teeth, and being nearly deprived of his sight, he was compelled to retire from his charge, by whom his removal from among them was regarded as a very afflictive providence.

Unabated in his literary ardour he published in 1647 his *Appendix Ignatiana*, containing the genuine uninterpolated Epistles of Ignatius, with a new Latin version; an authentic History of the martyrdom of that Saint; the epistles of Tiberianus, Pliny, and Trajan respecting the constancy of the martyrs; and the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna concerning the martyrdom of Polycarp. This year also he published his *Dissertatio de Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo Apostolico vetere, et aliis fidei formulis.* In this work he gave a learned account of the various copies of the Apostles Creed formerly used in the Roman Church, published several ancient formularies of faith, and some other similar monuments of antiquity.

In the beginning of the following year he published his very erudite chronological work on the introduction of the Macedonian Solar year into Greece. In this dissertation he instituted a comparison of the lunar and solar months with the julian, and those of other nations; fixed the time of the Martyrdom of Polycarp; laid down the entire arrangement of the Asiatic and Macedonian year; and subjoined a Grecian and Roman Ephemeris, which was the first attempt made in this Country to frame a true Asronomical Calendar.

In the same year 1648, his Majesty, who was then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, sent for Usher to consult him respecting the Episcopal arrangements, which he was compelled to institute as his last hope of safety. Usher of course repaired immediately to Carrisbrook Castle, and once more submitted his expedient, for the amalgamation of Puritans and Churchmen, to the consideration of the King, who at length professed himself willing to accept it. But his concessions, alas, were now too late, the Scotch and English Presbyterians were now grown too extravagant in their demands, and nothing but the blood of their Monarch could afford them satiety. Immediately on his arrival at the port, he preached before his royal master, from Gen. xlix. 3, "Reuben, thou art my first born, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of my dignity, and the excellency of power." In this sermon he enlarged very amply on the just rights and prerogative of the King, and proved that hereditary monarchy was as well entitled to the excellency of power as to the excellency of dignity. The account of this discourse, with many additions, soon reached the Me-

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tropolis, and the Preacher almost as soon was lampooned in all the ephemeral writings of the day. Previous to his leaving London he also preached at Lincoln's-Inn, from Isaiah viii. 12, 13, "Say ye not a confederacy to all them, to whom this people shall say a confederacy, neither fear you their fear, nor be afraid: Sanctify the Lord of Hosts himself, and let him be your fear and let him be your dread," and very pointedly reprobated the covenants and confederacies, which were so generally entered into at that period against the Crown, and the real interests of the Country. Thus valiantly did this vigorous champion of every religious truth, every manly sentiment, and every constitutional principle, boldly proclaim the guilt of disobedience in a Subject, the heinous nature of Rebellion, and the authority with which the higher powers were entrusted by heaven, for the execution of heaven's purposes, at the very time when the advocacy of such opinions was regarded as constructive treason.

The Primate having failed in his attempt to reconcile the King, and his rebellious House of Commons, left the Isle of Wight, and stopping at Southampton was very kindly received by the chief Gentry of the Town, and was requested also to preach there on the succeeding Sunday. With this solicitation he complied, but was very soon waited on by the Governor of the Garison to entreat he would decline preaching, as it might be of ill consequence to the place, and to intimate in fact that he would not be permitted to enter any Pulpit in that town. So great a dread did he entertain of Usher's inculcating too plainly the obedience owed by the Subject to the Sovereign, and of his exposing the guilt of that horrid villainy, which was then meditated. The King was very soon after brought into Southampton as a Prisoner, and if Rebellion was generally regarded as a crime, the Governor had very good reason to believe that an informed people would rise to vindicate a Monarch's injured rights.

The memorable *Thirtieth* of January, 1649, now speedily arrived, the infernal pageantry, yclept the trial of Charles Stewart, planned in Pandemonium was now speedily *got up* by Pandemonium's Potentates and Peers, with decorations suitable to the vitiated taste of a corrupted nation, and he who had once received the homage of a grateful people, was now condemned and pronounced a traitor by men who gloried in their breach of all constitutional principles, and were daily committing the most atrocious acts of treason; he was conducted to the scaffold by men who had sworn allegiance to his government, fidelity to his person, and unqualified resistance to all oppugners of his authority; and he was executed in the sight of many, who though they once were among the number of his courtiers, had deserted him when fallen, and in the sight of others, who while they lamented his misfortunes, and commiserated in his sufferings, were unable to rescue him from the cowards who

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trayed, the villains who imprisoned, or the assassins who slew him. Among those, who respected their monarch, but had no power to prevent his murder, and were witnesses of this horrifying catastrophe, was that venerable Prelate, the circumstances of whose life we have been recording. He was at this time with Lady Peterborough at Charing-Cross, and some of the family, who had previously gone out on the leads of the house, from whence they had a full view of Whitehall, came down, when the King appeared upon the scaffold, to entreat him to return with them, and once more behold his venerated and unfortunate master. At first unwilling to comply, he at length consented; but when he saw the hereditary Governor of Britain engaged in the last mournful vindication of his conduct, he sighed deeply, and with hands and eyes upraised to heaven, suffused with tears, he prayed with perceptible earnestness; and when he saw the masked Executioners preparing to fulfil their dreadful office, no longer able to witness a scene so horrible and tremendous, or endure a spectacle so atrocious and diabolical, in which such foul indignities were offered to royalty, he swooned into the arms of his attendants, and was at length relieved, when laid upon his couch, by an abundant effusion of tears, and the most ardent supplications to the throne of mercy.

During the disasters, which followed, and the tyranny, which succeeded, our worthy Primate devoted himself to the labours of his study, and the exercise of his ministerial duty, openly reprobated the usurpation of Cromwell and his proceedings, and constantly endeavoured to administer consolation to the suffering adherents of the murdered King. Often did he observe, that the present order of things would be reversed, kingly government restored, and he himself retire from the troublous scene, before the hoped for consummation. He even remarked, not long before his death, that the disposition of Cromwell, resembled that of the Grecian Tyrants, which as it originated in a preponderance of military power, so did it usually terminate with the death of the Usurper. A. D. 1650, he published his profound and erudite performance, the Annals of the Old Testament; a work begun, as already has been recorded, at a very early age. It commences with the earliest notices of mundane transactions, concludes with the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, A. M. 3828, contains the succession of the Babylonish, Persian, and Macedonian Monarchs; the concurrent Olympiads, the Syncronisms of sacred and profane History, and an account of the most remarkable Eclipses of the Sun, with reference to his Chronological statements. The second part of this work, which is carried on to the destruction of Jerusalem, by Vespasian, issued from the Press in 1654. He very fully detailed in this volume, the state of the Macedonian Empire, under the Asiatick and Egyptian Kings;

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gave an exact account of the affairs of the Roman Empire in the East; and also added a narration of the New Testament History, as far as the year 73, and the parallel circumstances noticed by the Greek and Roman writers of that period.

On the fourteenth of December this Year, although he had discontinued his practise of preaching to large auditories, he preached the funeral sermon, on the death of his friend Selden, in compliance with the particular request of the Executors of that learned and celebrated Barrister, whom he had visited during his illness, and for whom he entertained the highest regard. He pronounced a very high and deserved encomium on the deceased; and with much humility, but very little truth, declared him to be "so great a scholar, that himself was scarce worthy to carry his books after him."

Cromwell, who evidenced great anxiety not to be considered as a persecutor of those, who disagreed with him in religious opinions, sent about this time for Usher. The Primate, at first unwilling to obey the mandate, resolved, upon consideration, to comply, fearing that his refusal would only enrage the Protector against him, and at the same time, hoping that he might be able to effect some good, or prevent some evil. The Despot received him with much civility, conversed with him, it is reported, on the most probable means of advancing the Protestant interests, and with some canting expressions dismissed him. A. D. 1655, Usher was entreated by some of the Orthodox Divines, to wait again on Cromwell, and request him to allow the Episcopal Clergy the free exercise of their religious services, as he had previously forbade them to instruct youth, or perform any part of their ministerial functions, under the severest penalties. Usher found a Surgeon engaged in dressing a large boil on the Protector's breast, who said to him, "if the core were once out, I should be quickly well." "I doubt," replied the Primate, "the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart, that must be taken out, or else it will not be well. "Ah," said Oliver, with seeming unconcern, "so there is indeed," and sighed. He soon told the Primate, that his Council advised him not to grant any toleration to men so implacable to his government and person; and his Grace, finding persuasion needless, returned home, disappointed, chagrined, and surprised at the perfidy of the man, who had promised, at a previous interview, to yield to his entreaties, and now refused to ratify the concessions he had before made. "This false man," said he to Parr, "hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised; well he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long; the King will return, and though I shall not live to see it, you may."

In the February following, he left London for Ryegate, and took leave of his relations for the last time. His earthly course was nearly run, and

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yet his mind and body were as vigorous as could be expected for his advanced period of life; but his sight had become so weak from an unwearied application to study, that he was only able to write, in a strong light, and was, therefore, compelled to follow the sun from one window to another. Had his life been spared until the succeeding winter, it was his intention to have employed an amanuensis. He was now constantly engaged in the consideration of another world, and in the contemplation of his own dissolution, which was fast approaching. It had been his habit to make some remark in his almanack, opposite the day of his birth; his observation this year, 1655, was "now aged 75 years, *my days are full*;" and immediately after in large letters, RESIGNATION; so fully was he aware, that the hour of his departure was at hand, and so entirely was he resigned to the will of his Divine Master. Not long before his death he heard Dr. Parr preach, and said afterwards, "I thank you for your sermon; I am going out of the world, and I now desire, according to your text, to *seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God*, and to be with him in heaven; of which said he, we ought not to doubt, if we can evidence to ourselves our own conversion, true faith, and love, and live in the exercise of those christian graces, and virtues, with perseverance; mortifying daily our inbred corruptions, renouncing all ungodliness, and worldly lusts; and he, who is arrived at this habitual frame and holy course of life, is the blessed, and happy man, and may rejoice in hope of a glorious eternity in the kingdom of heaven, to receive that inheritance given by God, to those that are sanctified." Parr mentions, that his conversation at this period resembled more that of one freed from all the incumbrances of the flesh, than of one, who was yet a pilgrim and a sojourner here. "But since," says that Biographer, it had been usual with him to insist on things of this nature, when we were together, and he was at this time in health, I did not believe, that his change was so near, as he presaged: yet he himself had other thoughts, and it proved he was not mistaken." On March 20, in the evening, he first complained of a pain in his hip. That day he had remained in his study, as long as it was light, and then went to visit a lady in the same house, who was dangerously ill. He spent an hour in endeavouring to lead her to form conceptions of her situation, and seemed to explain the mysteries of the heavenly Canaan, as if, like Moses from Mount Pisgah, he had a full view of the glorious inheritance, which awaited him. He had now been fifty-five years an Herald of God's will to man, an ambassador of the glorious Gospel of Christ; and he concluded his embassy with the emphatic declaration of his important message. The next morning the pain in his hip, which he at first thought was the sciatica, was accompanied with a great pain in his side. A Physician was sent for, and the medicines supposed to be requisite were ordered; but so far from abating, they

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only increased the violence of his complaint, which, after his decease, was ascertained to be a pleurisy. He now applied himself wholly to his devotions, and the Countess of Peterborough's Chaplain prayed with him. Receiving some intermission from pain, he addressed a solemn warning to all, who were around him, to prepare for death and judgment. He next took an affectionate farewell of her Ladyship, from whom he had received such repeated kindness, and gave her some most excellent advice; and then requested to be left alone. The last words he was heard to utter were, *O Lord forgive me, especially my sins of omission.* He had frequently expressed his desire, that he might die like Mr. Perkins, praying for mercy and forgiveness, confident that such language was most befitting the fallen sons of Adam. Even when redeemed from their lost estate, he knew them to be sinners still; and though grace might enable those, who were ransomed from the fall, to live consistently with their profession; he well knew that imperfection was stamped upon their best performances, and that their holiest services demanded the application of atoning blood. It was surely most ungenerous in Bishop Burnet to imagine, and still more ungenerous to publish his conjecture, without any document to warrant it, that, according to his opinion, Usher "did not bestir himself suitable to the obligations, that lay on him in carrying on" "the rough work of reforming abuses;" it "sat heavy on his thoughts, when he came to die;" and drew forth the humble and contrite expressions, which we have already noticed, as having then escaped him. This accusation rests entirely on the supposed culpability of the Primate's conduct with respect to Bedell, which we have already discussed, and, concerning which, we shall add but one or two observations. Usher knew, that Bedell had acted illegally in his eagerness to reform ecclesiastical abuses. It was therefore impossible for him to defend him. He would have been delighted to have effected the reform; but he was not possessed of the power. Bedell, to remedy the evil, sat as Judge in his own Court; but Usher, ignorant of the laws, pleaded *mecum habito, quam sit mihi curta supellex;* and declared, "my Chancellor is better skilled in the laws, than I am, and far better able to manage affairs of that kind." Besides he judged, that if the Bishops generally exercised such a jurisdiction, the evil, so far from being diminished, would be increased; and appealed to an instance of a Bishop, who sat in his own Courts, and in whom there was to be found "more injustice and oppression, than in all the Chancellors in the whole kingdom put together." It must be obvious, from this statement, that his conduct was in no wise reprehensible; and therefore could never have embittered his dying moments. The only reluctance he evidenced to assist Bedell in the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, was a reluctance in the first instance, to countenance any illegal measure; and, in the next, to permit a precedent to be formed, which, he thought, would be injurious in its consequences, and introduce still greater corruption. Of this charge he

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therefore stands acquitted; and his dying words are solely to be regarded as a confession of his just knowledge of the human heart, his own in particular, and of the forgiveness, which all need. Thus died, full of faith, in the fifty-sixth year of his ministry, and the seventy-sixth year of his age, on the 27th of March, 1656, the venerable Usher; a name, which, as it has hitherto, so should it for ever, be embalmed and enshrined in the grateful remembrance of the virtuous, the learned, and the wise. His translation from the Prelacy of Meath, to the Primacy of Armagh, preceded his translation to the royal priesthood in heaven, thirty-one years. Here he appeared for a little while, like some vast luminary, which, moving in an eccentric orbit, approached our sphere, and again returned to his perihelion station to enjoy the glories of the celestial world. The hundreth Bishop of Armagh, he nobly and illustriously closed the first centennary of Irish Primates. Patrick, who was the first, introduced the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ into Ireland; while our distinguished Prelate restored it in its purity; taught it in its simplicity; maintained it in its excellence against the efforts of all, who would either have deteriorated its doctrines, enervated its precepts, or weakened its authority; exemplified its holy character in his life and conversation; and proved its efficacy to administer consolation and support, in the days of his affliction, and at the hour of his death.

When his relations became acquainted with the melancholy tidings of his decease, they gave the necessary orders for his funeral; but the fall of so mighty a man in Israel, was too sensibly deplored throughout the nation to permit his burial to be private; and Cromwell, desirous of obtaining a character for liberality of sentiment, ordered his remains to be publicly interred, with all the honours due to so great a personage, at Westminster Abbey. His interment took place, April 17, 1656, according to the rites of the Church of England; and Dr. Bernard, his Grace's Chaplain, preached a sermon on the occasion from 1 Sam xxv. 1. *And Samuel died, and all the Israelites were gathered together, and lamented him, and buried him.* This sermon was afterwards published, and has frequently been referred to in this narrative.

Usher was, in his person, of moderate stature, sanguine complexion, brown hair, and of a grave countenance, expressive of good nature, and commanding reverence and respect. Surely no man ever deserved to receive both more, than he did. Courteous, affable, and forgiving, he never committed, or returned an injury. Elevated in his situation in life, and endowed with the most capacious understanding, eminent in learning, and no less eminent in piety, humility was the most prominent feature in his character. Benevolent in his disposition, he was active in charity, and even when distressed,

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himself, his beneficence was very widely felt by his fellow suffering countrymen. On one occasion, when deeply engaged in study, a poor Irishwoman came to him at Lady Peterborough's, and demanded alms: he simply told her he was unable to comply with so many requests of that kind, and she without any importunity retired, imploring divine blessings upon him.—Reflecting afterwards, that she might perhaps have been a fit object for his bounty, he sent some of the domestics after her, who returned without finding her. Being much distressed, that this search was ineffectual, he sent his own servant, who was not within at the time of the occurrence, to inquire for the woman the next morning, at those places where the Irish usually resorted to in London. The servant was unable to effect his errand, and the Primate was considerably concerned at being so hasty in his refusal.

In preaching he was eloquent and frequent, as has already been related. We have yet to mention, that his sermons were, so far, extemporaneous, that the heads only were committed to paper; and it is evident, from what we have before recorded, that they were always declaratory of the grand scheme of redemption through a crucified Saviour. He was very careful not to admit any persons into the ministerial office, who were unqualified to exercise its holy functions. "*Lay hands suddenly on no man,*" was a precept, which he most conscientiously regarded. He only ordained one person, who was not acquainted with the learned languages, an English mechanic in his own Diocese, a pious man, who read and knew much of the Bible, was well acquainted with works of practical divinity, and was extremely anxious to be actively engaged in the sacred calling. This person, when he applied to the Primate for ordination, was ignorant of Irish; but his Grace, remarking that his preaching would be of little use, unless it was understood by the people, the man promised to acquire the language of the natives, which being enabled to effect in a year, he was ordained, and was the means of converting many papists, and was a very eminent Minister.

We have now brought to a conclusion the life of this venerable Patriarch, who was alike distinguished for his piety, and his learning, his loyalty, and his patriotic virtues. It would be needless to dilate further on his character, it has already been described with sufficient accuracy. It is only necessary to add further, what was before remarked of Augustine, *O virum ad totius ecclesiæ publicam utilitatem, natum, factum, datumque divinitus!*

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TO

MY VERY MUCH HONOURED FRIEND,

SIR CHRISTOPHER SIBTHORP, KNIGHT,

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S JUSTICES OF HIS COURT OF

CHIEF PLACE,

IN

IRELAND.

WORTHY SIR,

I CONFESS, I somewhat incline to be of your mind, that if unto the authorities drawn out of Scriptures and Fathers, (which are common to us with others) a true discovery were added of that religion which anciently was professed in this Kingdom; it might prove a special motive to induce my poor Countrymen, to consider a little better of the old and true way from whence they have hitherto been misled. Yet on the one side, that saying in the Gospel runeth much in my mind; "If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead;" and on the other, that heavy judgment mentioned by the Apostle; "because they received not the love of the Truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lye." The woeful experience whereof, we may see daily before our eyes in this poor nation: where, such as are slow of heart to believe the saving Truth of God, delivered by the Prophets and Apostles, do with all greediness embrace, and with a most strange kind of credulity entertain those lying Legends, wherewith their Monks and Friars in these latter days have polluted the Religion and Lives of our ancient Saints.

I do not deny but that in this Country, as well as in others, corruptions did creep in by little and little, before the Devil was let loose to procure that seduction, which prevailed so generally in these last times; but as far as I can collect by such records of the former ages as have come unto my hands (either manuscript or printed) the Religion professed by the ancient Bishops, Priests, Monks, and other Christians in this land, was for sub-

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stance the very same with that, which now by public authority is maintained therein, against the foreign doctrine brought in thither in latter times by the Bishop of Rome's followers. I speak of the more substantial points of Doctrine, that are in controversy between the Church of Rome and us at this day; by which only we must judge, whether of both sides hath departed from the Religion of our Ancestors: not of matters of inferior note, much less of ceremonies, and such other things as appertain to the discipline, rather than to the Doctrine of the Church.

And whereas it is known unto the learned, that the name of Scoti in those elder times (whereof we treat) was common to the inhabitants of the *greater* and *lesser* Scotland, for so heretofore they have been distinguished, that is to say, of Ireland, and the famous Colony deduced from thence into Albenia: I will not follow the example of those, that have of late laboured to make dissention between the daughter and the mother, but account of them both, as of the same people.

Troš Rutulusve fuit, nullo discrimine habebo.

The Religion doubtless received by both, was the self-same; and differed little or nothing from that, which was maintained by their neighbours the Britons: as by comparing the evidences that remain, both of the one nation and of the other, in the ensuing discourse more fully shall appear.

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TO THE

READER.

IN judging of the Religion of our Ancestors, we are not to build our conclusion upon every single proposition, wherein they either agree with, or differ from us; but upon the main bulk of the substantial points of doctrine, which are controverted between us at this day. Therefore the Adversary must not imagine, that I intend here to make such simple collections as these. *Such a man held such a point with us; therefore he was a Protestant.* No more than I will allow him to frame the like. *Such a man was a Monk, or in such or such a particular agreed with the now Church of Rome; therefore he was a Papist.* And forasmuch as for any one man we have not sufficient evidences left unto us, whereby it may appear what he held in every particular: the only way, that now remaineth is, to join all of them together, with this presumption, that what one man of note hath delivered, the contrary whereof is not to be found in others of his countrymen, who lived about the same time; that is to be supposed to have been the doctrine, which was commonly received in those Countries at that time.

Hence it is, that I oftentimes chain together the saying of divers authors into one context; and insert also some time certain sentences of theirs, which do not so much make for any controversy, as for the apt connexion of the points, and the illustration of the present head of doctrine there treated of. And although my principal intention in this discourse, was to produce such evidences as might shew the argument that was between our ancestors and us in matter of religion, and to leave the instances which might be alledged for the contrary to them, unto whom the maintaining of that part did properly belong: yet I have upon occasion touched upon that part also, and brought to light some things, which I met withal in such hidden antiquities, as in all likelihood would not have come unto their notice, without my discovery.

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TO THE READER.

The printed books which I cite, lye as open to them as they have done to me: neither need they our help for the collecting of such things out of them, as may seem to make for their purpose: I would we were half as careful for the maintenance of the truth that way, as they every day shew themselves to be, in not letting slip any manner of advantage, which may countenance their superstitions and errors. As for the manuscripts, which I use, they are partly known to some of them, partly notified in the marginal notations of the treatise itself; where the place is noted, in which they may be found. A great part whereof, being gathered together in the rare treasury of that worthy Baronet Sir Robert Cotton; I thought it not amiss to mark all such with an asterisk (*) in the catalogue, to the end, that if any of the other side will be pleased to look into these things, he may with more ease satisfy himself, by perusing the chief of these monuments brought thus together into one place: and so as well examine the truth of my allegations, as take up what he shall think meet for the patronage of his own cause. My intention herein being to deal fairly, and not to desire the concealing of any thing, that may tend to the true discovery of the state of former times; whether it may seem to make for me, or against me.

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OF THE

RELIGION

PROFESSED

BY THE

ANCIENT IRISH.

CHAP. I.

OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

ST. PAUL prescribes two excellent rules to Christians, for their direction in the ways of God: the one, that they *be not unwise, but understanding what the will of God is;** the other, that they *be not more wise than behoveth to be wise, but be wise unto sobriety.*† And that we might know the limits, within which this wisdom and sobriety should be bounded; he elsewhere declares, that not to be more wise than is fitting, is *not to be wise above that which is written.*‡ Sedulius (one of the most ancient writers who remains of this country) delivers this for the meaning of the former rule;

* Ephes. v. 17. † Rom. xii. 3. ‡ 1 Cor. iv. 6.

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[a] *Search the law, in which the will of God is contained:* and this for the latter; [b] *He would be more wise* than is meet, *who searches into those things of which the law does not speak.* Claudius, another famous divine, (counted one of the founders of the University of Paris,) to illustrate the former, affirms that men [c] *therefore err, because they know not the Scriptures; and because they are ignorant of the Scriptures, they consequently know not Christ, who is the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God:* and to illustrate the latter, brings in that known Canon, of St. Hierome; [d] *this, because it has no authority from the Scriptures, is with the same facility contemned wherewith it is avowed.* Nor was the practice of our ancestors herein different from their judgment. For Bede, speaking of the latter, records of the successors of Columkill, the great Saint of our country; that they [e] *observed only those works of piety and chastity, which they could learn in the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical writings:* and speaking of the latter, he says of Bishop Aidan; that [f] *all his companions, whether they were of the clergy, or of the laity, were bound to exercise themselves, either in reading the Scriptures, or in learning the Psalms.* And long before their time, it was the observation which St. Chrysostome made of both these islands; that [g] *although thou didst go to the ocean, and those British Isles; although thou didst sail to the Euxine sea; although thou didst go to the Southern quarters; thou shouldest hear all*

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men every where reasoning about the things of Scripture, with another voice indeed, but not with another faith, and with a different tongue, but with an according judgment. Which is in effect the same with that which venerable Bede says of the island of Britain, in his own days, that [h] *the English, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Latins, each in their own language enquired into and confessed one and the same knowledge of the highest truth, and of the true sublimity.* And although he affirms, that the language of the Latins, [i] *by the meditation of the Scriptures had become common to all the others:* yet the community of that one among the learned, did not take away the property of the other four among the vulgar, but that such as understood not the Latin, might yet in their own mother tongue have those Scriptures, by means of which they might *enquire into the knowledge of the highest truth, and of the true sublimity.* Even as at this day in the reformed Churches, the same Latin tongue is common to all the learned in the meditation and exposition of the Scriptures; and yet the common people, notwithstanding in their own vulgar tongues, **search the Scriptures, because in them they think to have eternal life.* For as by us now, so by our forefathers then, the [k] *continual meditation of the Scriptures,* was considered to give special vigour and *vegetation to the soul* (as we read in the book attributed to St. Patrick, *of the abuses of the world:*) and the holy documents delivered therein, were esteemed by Christians as

* John v. 39.

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their chief riches; as we read in Columbanus, "[l] Let these be thy riches, the precepts of God's law:" by means of which heavenly riches our ancient Scottish and Irish prospered so well, that many worthy personages in foreign parts were content to undergo a voluntary exile from their own country; that they might more freely traffic here for so excellent a commodity. And by this means Alfred king of Northumberland, purchased the reputation of [m] *a man most learned in the Scriptures; for residing in Scotland, he imbibed there celestial wisdom in his attentive soul; having left his native country and his pleasant fields, that in diligent exile he might learn the mystery of godliness.* As Bede writes of him, in his poem of the life of our countryman St. Cuthbert.

Therefore when we read in the same Bede of Furseus, and in another ancient Author of Kilianus, that from the time of their very childhood, they evidenced a remarkable concern for the Holy Scriptures; it may easily be collected, that in those days it was not thought a thing unfit, that even children should devote themselves to the study of the Bible. How much some of them profited in those tender years, may appear by what Boniface, the first Archbishop of Mentz, relates of Livinus (who was trained up in his youth by Benignus in singing David's Psalms, and reading the holy Gospels, and other divine Exercises, and Jonas of Columbanus; in whose [n] *breast the treasures of the Holy Scriptures were so laid up, that within the compass of his youthful years, he set forth an elegant Expo-*

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sition of the Book of Psalms. By whose industry likewise afterwards, the study of God's word was so propagated; that in the monasteries which were founded *according to his rule* beyond the seas, not the men only, but the religious women also were carefully engaged in the practice, that through patience and comfort of the Scriptures they might have hope. The practice of the virgin Bitihildis lying upon her death-bed, is a proof of this, as is related by the same Jonas, or whoever was the author of the life of Burgundofora.

As for the edition of the Scriptures used in these parts at those times; the Latin translation was so received into common use among the learned, that the principal authority was still reserved to the original fountains. Therefore Sedulius in the Old Testament commends to us the °*Hebrew Verity* (for so with St. Hierome he stiles it:) and in the New corrects often the vulgar Latin, according to the truth of the Greek copies. For example: in 1 Cor. vii. 34, he reads as we do, *there is difference between a wife and a virgin;* and not as the Rhemists have translated it out of the Latin. Rom. xii. 19. He reads *not avenging yourselves:* where the vulgar Latin has corruptly, *not defending yourselves.* Rom. iii. 4, where the Rhemists translate according to the Latin, *God is true:* he shews that in the Greek copies it is found, *let God be true,* or, *let God be made true.* Rom. xv. 17, he notes that the Latin books have put *glory* for *gloriation.* Galat. i, 16, where the

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Rhemists have according to the Latin, *I condescended not to flesh and blood:* he says, that the Greek has it better, for so he must be here corrected out of St. Hierom, whom he follows, *I conferred not.* Rom. viii. 3, where the Rhemists say of God, according to the Latin translation, *that of sin* he *damned sin in the flesh:* Sedulius affirms, that it is more truly expressed in the Greek books; that *for sin* he *damned sin, in the flesh.* Lastly, where the Rhemists translate after their Latin copy, Gal. v. 9, *a little leaven corrupteth the whole paste,* he says it should be, *leaveneth,* (as we have it) and not [p] *corrupteth,* as it is ill read in the Latin books. So where they translate by the same authority, Galat. vi. 1, *instruct such an one in the spirit of Lenity:* [q] Claudius, following St. Hierom, affirms that it is better in the Greek, *restore or perfect him.* And where they make St. Peter say, Mat. xvi. 22, *Lord, be it far from thee:* he says that it is better in the Greek; [r] *Lord favour thyself.*

In the Old Testament, I observe that our writers more usually follow the translation taken out of the Septuagint than the vulgar Latin, which is now received in the church of Rome. So, for example, where the vulgar Latin has Isaiah xxxii. 4, [s] *The tongue of the stammerers* (or *mafflers*, as the Doway translation would render it) *shall speak readily and plainly:* in the confession of St. Patrick, we find it laid down more agreeably to the Greek Lection; *the stammering tongues shall swiftly learn to speak peace,*

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And in his epistle to Coroticus or Ceriticus; Malach. iv. 2, [t] *You shall dance as Calves loosed out of bands:* where our common Latin has; *You shall leap as calves of the herd.* And Job xx. 15, 16, [u] *The riches which he shall gather unjustly shall be vomited out of his belly, the Angel of death draweth him: He shall be mulcted with the wrath of dragons: the tongue of the Serpent shall kill him.* Where the vulgar Latin reads; *the riches, which he has devoured, he shall vomit out, and God shall draw them forth out of his belly. He shall suck the head of asps, and the viper's tongue shall kill him.* The same course is likewise observed by Sedulius in his citations. But Gildas the Briton in some books, (as Deuteronomy, Isaiah, and Jeremy, for example) follows the vulgar Latin translated out of the Hebrew; in others (as the books of Chronicles, Job, Proverbs, Ezekiel, and the small Prophets) the elder Latin translated out of the Greek, as also long after him his countryman Nennius in reckoning the years of the age of the world, follows the LXX. And Asser, alledges the text, Genes. iv. 7, 10, [v] *If thou offer aright, and dost not divide aright, thou sinnest;* according to the Greek reading: whereas the vulgar Latin has it; *If thou do well, shalt thou not receive again? but if thou doest ill, shall not thy sin forthwith be present at the door?*

Of the psalter there are extant four or five Latin translations out of the Greek, (namely, the old Italian, the Gallican, the Roman, the Gothick,

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and that of Millayne :) and one out of the Hebrew, composed by St. Hierom; which though it is now excluded out of the body of the Bible, and the Gallican admitted in the room thereof; yet in some manuscript copies it still retains its ancient place; three whereof I have seen myself in Cambridge; one in Trinity, another in Benet, and the third in Jesus College Library, where this translation out of the Hebrew, and not the vulgar out of the Greek, is inserted in the context of the Bible.

In the Citations of Gildas, and the Confession of Saint Patrick, I observe that the Roman psalter is followed, rather than the Gallican: in the quotations of Sedulius, on the other side, the Gallican rather than the Roman, Claudius speaking of a text in the 118th, (or as he accounts it, the 11th,) Psalm, says, that where the LXX. interpreters translated it, *O Lord save me*, it was written in the Hebrew, *Anna Adonai Osanna:* which our interpreter Hierom (says he) more diligently explaining, translated thus; *I beseech thee, O Lord, save I beseech thee.* Before this translation of St. Hierom, I have seen an epigram prefixed by Ricemarch the Briton, who by Caradoc of Lhancarpan is commended for the godliest, wisest, and greatest clerk that had been in Wales many years before his time, his father Sulgen, Bishop of St. David, only excepted, who had brought him up, and a great number of learned disciples. He having in this epigram said of those who translated the psalter out of Greek, that they darkened the Hebrew rays with

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their Latin cloud, adds of St. Hierom, that being replenished with the Hebrew fountain, he more clearly and briefly discovered the truth; as drawing it out of the first vessel immediately, and not deriving it from a second. To this purpose he thus expresses himself:

x In Hebrew characters the scroll retains,
The Harp of David's most harmonious strains
But other nations, from a ruder source,
Destroy their beauty, purity, and force;
While they explain, in their peculiar phrase,
The sacred meaning of those heav'nly lays,
And in a tongue, but vaguely understood,
Obscure the sun-beams, with their Latin cloud:
Like precious wines, thro' sundry vessels tost,
Whose strength and choicest flavour thus are lost.
But holy Jerom, fraught with Hebrew lore,
Draws from this fountain truths of heav'nly pow'r;
And from their native character explains
The force and beauty of those sacred strains,
And ev'ry secondary source disdains.

Now respecting those books annexed to the Old Testament, which St. Hierom calls Apocryphal, others Ecclesiastical: true it is our Irish and British writers consider some of these writings prophetical; those especially that commonly bear the name of Solomon. But so also is the fourth book of Esdras cited by Gildas, in the name of *blessed* Esdras the *prophet;* which yet our Romanists will not admit to be canonical: neither do our writers mention any of the rest with more titles of respect, than we find given to them by others of the ancient fathers; who yet in express terms ex-

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clude them out of the number of those books, which properly are esteemed canonical. Hence no sufficient proof can be drawn, that our ancesters herein departed from the tradition of the elder church, delivered by St. Hierome in his prologues, and explained by Brito (a Briton, it seems by nation, as well as by appellation) in his commentaries upon the same; which were joined with the ordinary gloss upon the Bible, and which were so distasteful to our popish divines, that in their new editions (printed at Lyons, A. D. 1590, and at Venice afterwards) they have entirely omitted them.

Yet Narianus Scotus, (who was born in Ireland, A. D 1028,) was careful to maintain the ancient bounds of the Canon, set by his forefathers. For he in his Chronicle, following Eusebius and St. Hierome, at the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, writeth thus: "[x] Till now the divine Scripture of the Hebrews contains the order of times. But the subsequent actions of the Jews, are related in the same manner as they are in the book of Maccabees, and the writings of Josephus and Aphricanus." But before him more plainly, the Author of the Book *de mirabilibus Scripturæ*, who is accounted to have lived here about the year 657.) "[z] In the books of the Maccabees, although some wonderful things are found, which may justly be accounted such; yet will we not refer to them; as we only proposed to take a short historical survey of the wonderful things contained in the divine canon." As also in the Aprocryphal additions of Daniel, he tells us, that the account *of the lake* (or den) *and the carrying of* Abacuc, *in*

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the Fable of Bel *and the* Dragon, *is not therefore considered in this light, as these things have not the authority of divine Scripture.*

And so much concerning the Holy Scriptures.

CHAP. II.

Of Predestination, Grace, Free-will, Faith, Works, Justification and Sanctification.

THE Doctrines which our learned Men observed out of the Scriptures, and the Writings of the most approved Fathers, were these; That God "[a] by his immoveable Counsels" (as Gallus speaking in his Sermon preached at Constance) ordained some of his Creatures "to praise him, and live blessedly from him and in him, and by him:" namely "[b] by his eternal Predestination, his free calling, and his Grace which was due to none." That "[c] he has Mercy with great Goodness, and hardens without any Iniquity, so as neither he that is delivered can glory of his own merits, nor he that is condemned complain but of his own merits. For as much as Grace only makes the distinction between the redeemed and the lost, who by a cause drawn from their common original were created together in one mass of perdition." For "[d] all mankind stood condemned in the apostatical root (of Adam) with so just and divine a judgment; that although none should have been freed from thence, no man could rightly blame the Justice of God: and

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such as were free, must so have been freed, that by those many which were not freed, but left in their most just condemnation, it might be shewed what the whole aggregate deserved, that the due judgment of God should have condemned even those that are justified, unless mercy had relieved them from that which was due: that so all the mouths of them, which would glory of their merits, might be stopped; and he that glorieth, might glory in the Lord."

They further taught (as St. Augustine did) that "[e] man having made bad use of his Free-will, destroyed both himself and it. For, as a person who is living can kill himself, but when he kills himself cannot live, neither has power to re-suscitate himself when he has killed himself: so when sin had been committed by free-will, sin being the conqueror, free-will also was lost; for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he also brought in bondage,* and unto a man thus brought in bondage and sold, there is no liberty left to do well, unless he redeem him, whose saying is this; if the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed."† That "[f] the mind of men from their very youth is set upon evil: for there is no man who sinneth not." "[g] What have you of your own except sin," says he. That "[h] God is the Author of all good things, both of good Nature, and of good-will; which unless God effect in him, man cannot work in himself, because this good-will is prepared by the Lord in man, that by the gift of God he may do that, which of himself he could not do by the volition of his free-will." That

* 2 Pet. ii. 19. † John viii. 36.

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"[i] the good-will of man precedes many gifts of God, but not all: and of those which it does not precede, itself is one. His mercy shall go before me, and His mercy shall follow me;" observes an inspired writer: "it prevents him who is unwilling that he may will, and it follows him who is willing, that he may not will in vain. For why are we admonished to ask that we may receive; unless, that what we will may be effected by him, by whose operation we thus willed."

They taught also, that "[k] the law was not given, that it might take away sin, but that it might conclude all under sin; that men, being by this means humbled, might understand that their salvation was not in their own power, but in that of a Mediator." That by the law comes "[l] neither the remission nor the removal, but the knowledge of sin:" That it "[m] takes not away diseases, but discovers them; "[n] forgives not sin, but condemns it." That "[o] the Lord God did not impose it upon the servants of righteousness, but upon the servants of sin; namely by giving a just law to unjust men, to manifest their sins, and not to remove them: for nothing removes sins, but the grace of faith which worketh by Love." That our "[p] sins are gratuitously forgiven us;" "[q] without the merit of our Works:" that "[r] through grace we are saved, by Faith and not by Works;" and that therefore we are to rejoice, "[s] not in our own Righteousness, or learning, but in the faith of the Cross, by which all our Sins are forgiven us." That "[t] grace is abject and vain, if it alone do not suffice us;" and that we

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"[a] esteem basely of Christ, when we think that he is not sufficient for us to Salvation."

That "[x] God has so ordered it, that he will be gracious to mankind, if they believe they shall be freed by the Blood of Christ." That, as "[y] the soul is the Life of the Body, so faith is the life of the Soul:" and that we live "[z] by a lively Faith only, as owing nothing to the Law. That "[a] he who believes in Christ, has the perfection of the Law. For as none can be justified by the law, since none have fulfilled the law, except he, who trusts in the Promise of Christ; Faith was appointed, which should be accepted for the perfection of the law, that in all things which were omitted Faith might satisfy for the whole law." That this righteousness therefore is "[b] not ours, nor in us, but in Christ;" in whom we are considered "as Members in the Head." That "[c] Faith, procuring the Remission of Sins by Grace, makes all believers the Children of Abraham:" and that "[d] it was just, that as Abraham was justified by Faith only, so also the rest that followed his faith should be saved" after the same manner. That "[e] through Adoption we are made the Sons of God, by believing in the Son of God:" and that this is "[f] a Testimony of our adoption, that we have the Spirit; by which we pray, and cry Abba Father; for as much as none can receive so great a pledge as this, but such as be sons only. That "[g] Moses himself distinguished between the righteousness of Faith and the righteousnes of Works: that the one did by Works justify him that came, the other by believing only. That

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"[h] the Patriarchs and the Prophets are not justified by the Works of the Law, but by Faith." That "[i] Sin has become so prevalent that none now can fulfil the law: which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear, as the Apostle Peter says.* But if any righteous men escaped the curse; they were saved not by the works of the Law, but by Faith."

Thus did Sedulius and Claudius, two of our most famous Divines, deliver the Doctrine of Free-will and Grace, Faith and Works; the Law and the Gospel, Justification and Adoption; no less agreeably to the faith which is at this day professed in the reformed Churches, than to that which they themselves received from the more ancient Doctors. Neither do we in our judgment differ in the least from them, when they teach that "[k] Faith alone justifies:" this word alone may be conceived to have relation, either to the former part of the Sentence, which in the Schools they term the subject; or to the latter, which they call the Predicate. Being referred to the former, the meaning will be; that such a faith as is alone (that is to say, not accompanied with other Virtues) does justify: and in this sense we utterly disclaim the Assertion. But being referred to the latter, it makes this sense; that Faith is it which alone or only justifies: and in this meaning only do we defend that proposition; understanding still by faith, not a lifeless carcase (for how should the just be able to live by a dead Faith?") but a true and lively faith, "[l] which worketh by love."† As the eye is the only member of the

* Acts xv. 10.

† Gal. v. 6.

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body whereby we see; and yet being alone, and separated from the rest of the members, it is dead, and therefore neither sees in its separate capacity, nor sees at all: so Faith among all the virtues in the Soul, is the only instrument whereby we lay hold upon Christ for our justification; and yet, Faith being alone, and disjoined from the society of other graces, "is dead in itself," as St. [m] James says,* and in that respect can neither justify in its separate capacity, nor justify at all.

So though Claudius taught as we do, that "[n] Faith alone saves us; because by the works of the Law no man shall be justified:" yet he adds this caution, "[o] Not as if the works of the Law should be condemned, and without them a simple Faith (so he calls that solitary Faith whereof we speak, which is a simple Faith indeed) should be desired, but that the works themselves should be adorned with the Faith of Christ. For that Sentence of the wise Man is excellent, that the Man of Faith does not live by Righteousness, but the Righteous Man by Faith." In like manner Sedulius, acknowledges with us, that God "[p] has purposed by Faith only to forgive our Sins freely," and "[q] by Faith only to save the Believers;" and that, when men have fallen, they are to be renewed, "[r] only by the Faith of Christ, which worketh by Love." Intimating by this last Clause, that though Faith alone justifies man, yet the work of Love is necessarily required notwithstanding to justify man's Faith. And this Faith (says "[s] he)

* James ii. 17.

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When it has been justified, "t cleaveth in the soil of the soul, like a root well watered by rain: that when nurtured by the law of God, it may rise up again into boughs, which may bear the fruit of works. Therefore the root of righteousness does not grow out of works, but the fruit of works out of the root of righteousness; even that root of righteousness, which God accepts for righteousness without works." The conclusion is: that saving faith is always a fruitful faith; and though it never goes alone, yet there may be some gift of God, which it alone is able to reach unto, as Columbanus also implies: where he observes, "u faith alone, will be enrich'd by faith enriching gifts."

The greatest depressers of God's grace, and the Advancers of man's abilities, were Pelagius and Celestius: the one born in Britain (as appears by Prosper Aquitanus) the other in Scotland or Ireland; as Mr. Persons gathers out of those words of St. Hierom in one of the prefaces of his commentaries (not upon Ezekiel, as he quotes it, but) upon Jeremy. "w He was a native of Scotland, a nation in the vicinity of the Britains." These Heretics (as our Marianus notes out of Prosper, in his chronicle) preached among other of their impieties, that "x in the attainment of righteousness every one is governed by his own will, and receives so much grace as he deserves." Whose venomous doctrine was in Britain repressed, first by Palladius, Lupus, Germanus and Severus from abroad; afterwards by David Menevensis, and his successors at home; agreeable to whose institution, Asser Menevensis

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professes, that God is always to be esteemed both the mover of the will, and the bestower of the good that is willed, for he is (says he) " [y] the instigator of all good wills, and withal the most bountiful provider, that the good things desired may be had: for he would never cause any to will well, unless he also liberally supplied that, which every one well and justly desired to obtain."

Among our Irish, the grounds of sound doctrine in these points were at the beginning well settled by Palladius and Patricius, " [z] sent hither by Celestinus Bishop of Rome." And when the Poison of the Palagian Heresy, about two hundred years after that, began to break out among them: the clergy of Rome, in the year of our Lord 639 (during the vacancy of the See, upon the death of Severinus) directed their letters unto them, for the prevention of this growing mischief. Wherein among other things they put them in mind, that " [a] it is both blasphemy and folly to say, that a man is without sin: which none at all can say, but that one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who was conceived and born without sin." Which is agreable partly, to that of Claudius; that " [b] it is manifest unto all men, although it is denied by Heretics, that no one can live upon earth, without the stain of some sin:" partly to that of Sedulius, that " [c] there is none of the elect so great, whom the devil does not dare to accuse, but him alone who did no sin, and said; the prince of this world cometh now, and in me he findeth nothing."

With respect to the imperfection of our sanctifica-

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tion in this life, these men held the same we do: that the law "[d] cannot be fulfilled;" that "there is no one who does good, that is to say, perfect and entire good." That "[e] God's elect shall be perfectly holy and immaculate in the life to come, where the Church of Christ shall have no spot nor wrinkle: whereas in this present life they are righteous, holy, and immaculate, not wholly, but in part only;" that "the righteous shall then be altogether without sin, when there shall be no law in their members, that shall resist the law of their mind;" that although "[f] sin reigns not now in their mortal body to obey the desires thereof: yet sin dwells in the same mortal body, the force of that natural custom not being yet extinguished," which we have derived from our original, and increased by our actual transgressions. With respect to merit, Sedulius remarks with St. Paul, that we are Saints "[g] by the calling of God, not by the merit of our deed;" that God is able to do exceeding abundantly above what we ask or think, "[h] according to the power that worketh in us, not according to our merits;" and that "[i] whatever men have from God, is of grace, because they have nothing of due;" and that "[k] nothing can be found worthy or to be compared with the glory to come."

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CHAP. III.

Of Purgatory and Prayer for the Dead.

THE next subject which comes under our consideration, is that of Purgatory. Of which if any man doubt; Cæsarius (a German Monk of the Cistercian Order) advises him for his resolution to make a Journey into Scotland (the greater Scotland he means) and enter St. Patrick's Purgatory: and then he gives him his word that he shall no longer doubt the pains of Purgatory." If Doctor Terry (who produces this as the testimony of "[b] a most celebrated author) should chance to have a doubtful thought hereafter of Purgatory; I would wish his ghostly father to enjoin him no other penance, but the undertaking of a pilgrimage unto St. Patrick's purgatory; to see whether he would prove any wiser when he came from thence, than when he went thither. In the mean time, until he has made some further experiment of the matter, he shall give me leave to believe him who has been there, and has cause to know the place well (the Island in which it is seated, being held by him as a part of the inheritance, descended unto him from his ancestors) and yet professes, that he found nothing there, which might afford him any argument to think there was a Purgatory." I pass by, that Nennius and Probus, and all the elder writers of the life of St. Patrick, that I have met with, speak not one word of any such place; and that [c] Henry the Monk of Saltrey in the days of King Stephen, is the first in whom I

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could find any mention of it. This only would, I know of the Doctor, what reason he had when he adduced Giraldus Cambrensis, respecting this place, as "d an authentic authority;" to pass over that part of his relation, where he affirms, that St. Patrick intended by this means to persuade the rude people of the certainty "e of the infernal pains of the reprobate, and of the true and everlasting life of the elect after death."

The Grecians alledge this as one argument against Purgatory: that whereas "f their fathers had delivered unto them many visions and dreams and other wonders, concerning everlasting punishment, wherewith the wicked should be tormented in hell;" yet none of them had declared any thing concerning a purgatory temporary fire. Perhaps the Doctor was afraid, we should conclude upon the same ground, that St. Patrick was careful to plant in men's minds the belief of Heaven and Hell, while he never said any thing to them respecting Purgatory. In the book ascribed unto him, *de tribus habitaculis*, (which is to be seen in his Majesty's library) there is no mention of any other place after this life, but of these two only. I will quote the begining of that treatise; and leave it to the judgment of any indifferent man, whether it accords with what the Romanists teach concerning Purgatory at this day. "g There are three habitations under the power of Almighty God: the first, the lowermost, and the middle. The highest is called the Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of Heaven, the lowermost is termed Hell, the middle is named the present

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World, or the circuit of the Earth. Of which the extremes are altogether contrary to each other, (for what fellowship can exist between light and darkness, between Christ and Belial?) but the middle has some similitude with the extremes. For in this world there is a mixture of the bad and of the good together. Whereas in the Kingdom of God there are none bad but all good: but in Hell there are none good, but all bad. And both these places are supplied out of the middle. For of the men of this world, some are lifted up to Heaven, and others drawn down to Hell. Like are joined to like, good to good, and bad to bad, just men to just angels, wicked men to wicked angels; the servants of God to God, the servants of the Devil to the Devil. The blessed are called to the Kingdom prepared for them, from the beginning of the World: the cursed are driven into the everlasting fire that is prepared for the Devil and his angels." Thus far there.

An ancient Canon of one of our Irish Synods, affirms, that the Soul being separated from the Body is "[h] presented before the Judgment-Seat of Christ, who renders its own unto it, according as it has done; and that neither the Archangel can lead into life until the Lord has judged it, nor the Devil transport it to punishment until the Lord condemns it." Sedulius likewise asserts, that after the end of this life, "[i] either death or life succeeds," and that "[k] death is the gate by which we enter into our kingdom:" and also Claudius, that [l] Christ took upon him our Punishment without the guilt, that thereby he might loose our Guilt, and finish also our punishment." Cardinal Bellarmine indeed alledges against us the vision of

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Furseus, who "[m] rising from the dead, told many things which he saw concerning the pains of Purgatory," as Bede, he says, recounts. But, by his permission we will be better advised, before we build articles of Faith upon such visions and dreams as these: many whereof deserve to have a place among the "[n] strange narrations of souls appearing after death," collected by Damascius the Heathen idolater; rather than among the histories and discourses of sober Christians.

As for this vision of Furseus: all that Bede relates of it to this purpose, is concerning certain great fires above the air, appointed to "[o] examine every one according to the merit of his works." Which peradventure may corroborate the account Damascius has given of a Purgatory in the milky circle (for in that circle he made a way for the souls that went "[p] to the Hades in Heaven; and, he thinks we have no reason to wonder, they should be purged:) but nothing for the Papists' purgatory, which Bellarmine by the common consent of the schoolmen, determines to be within the bowels of the earth. Neither is there any thing else in the whole book of the life of Furseus (whence Bede borrowed these things) that implies a belief of purgatory: unless peradventure that speech of the devil, may be thought to infer it." "'This man has not purged his sins upon earth; neither does he receive punishment for them here, Where is therefore the justice of God?" Has not God's justice been sufficiently satisfied by the sufferings of Christ? Must man also give further satisfaction either in this world or in the world to come, by

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penal works or sufferings? How frail is the foundation upon which our Romanists have laid the rotten frame of their devised purgatory!

The later visions of Malachias, Tundal, Owen, and others that lived within these last five hundred years, come not within the compass of our present inquiry: nor yet the fables that have been framed in those times, the lives and actions of elder Saints; to which no wise man will give any credit. Such (for example) is that which we read in the life of St. Brendan, that the question being proposed, "[s] Whether the sins of the dead could be redeemed by the prayers or almsdeeds of their friends remaining in this life," (for that was still a question in the Church,) he is said to have told them, that on a certain night, as he sailed in the great ocean, the soul of one Colman, ("[t] who had been an angry monk, and a sower of discord between brethren,") appeared to him, who complaining of his grevious torments, intreated that prayers might be made to God for him, and after six days thankfully acknowledged, that by means of them he had been translated into Heaven. From whence the author of Brendan's life concludes, "[u] that the prayer of the living considerably profits the dead." But St. Brendan's sea-pilgrimage is censured by Molanus a learned Romanist, as having "[x] many Aprocryphal fooleries in it:" and whoever reads it with any judgment, must say of it as Photius did of the strange narration of Damascius, before mentioned; that it contains not only apocryphal, but also impossible, incredible, ill-composed, and monstrous fooleries. Though the old legend is not free

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(as appears by the description of it in Glaber Rodulphus and Giraldus Cambrensis,) yet the tale, I recited out of the New Legend of England, is mentioned in the manuscript books which I have met with, in St. Brendan's own country, one of which was transcribed for the use of the Friars Minors of Kilkenny, about the year of our Lord 1350.

And this is a thing very observable in the ancient lives of our Saints (such I mean, as have been written before the time of Satan's loosing; beyond which we do not look:) that the prayers and oblations for the dead mentioned in them, are expressly said to have been made for them, whose souls were supposed at the same instant to have rested in bliss. So Adamnanus reports, that Saint Colme (called by the Irish, both in [a] Bedes, and our days, Columkill,) [b] caused all things to be prepared, for the sacred ministry of the Eucharist; when he had seen the soul of St Brendan received by the holy angels: and that he did the same when Columbanus bishop of Leinster departed this life. For I must to day (says St. Colme there) although I be unworthy, celebrate the holy mysteries of the Eucharist, on account of my veneration for that soul which this night, carried beyond the starry firmament between the holy quires of Angels, ascended into Paradise." Whereby it appears, that an honourable commemoration of the dead was intended, and a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their salvation, rather than of propitiation for their sins. In Bede we also find mention of the like obsequies, celebrated by St. Cuthbert for one Had-

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waldus; after "[d] he had seen his soul carried by the hands of angels, unto the joys of the kingdom of Heaven." So Gallus and Magnus (as Walafridus Strabus relates in the life of the one, and Theodorus Campidonensis, or whoever was author of the life of the other,) "[e] said mass" (the nature of which in those days we shall afterwards perceive) and were instant in prayers for the commemoration of Abbat Columbanus their countryman; "[f] often celebrating the memory of that great father, with holy prayers, and healthful sacrifices." The speech of Gallus unto his Deacon Magnus or Magnoaldus, is worthy of special consideration: "[g] after this night watch, I understood by a vision, that my master and father Columbanus, this day departed out of the miseries of this life to the joys of Paradise; on account of his having obtained rest therefore I ought to offer the sacrifice of salvation." In like manner also, when Gallus himself died; "[h] John, Bishop of Constance prayed to the Lord, on account of his having obtained rest, and offered healthful sacrifices for him." although he was certainly persuaded he had attained the blessing of everlasting life; as may be seen in Walafridus. And when Magnus afterwards was on his death-bed, he said to Tozzo, Bishop of Ausborough, who came to visit him: "[i] do not weep, reverend Prelate, because thou beholdest me labouring in so many storms of worldly troubles; because I believe in the mercy of God, that my soul shall rejoice in the freedom of immortality. Yet I beseech thee, that thou wilt not cease to help me a sinner and my soul with thy holy prayers." Then

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follows, that at the time of his departure, this voice was heard; "[k] come, Magnus, come, receive the crown which the Lord has prepared for thee." And that Tozzo then said unto Theodorus (the supposed writer of this history) "[l] let us cease weeping, brother; because we ought rather to rejoice, having heard this testimony of his soul having been received into immortality, than to make lamentation. But let us go to the Church, and be careful to offer healthful sacrifices to the Lord for so dear a friend."

I do not dispute the credit of these particular passages; it is sufficient, that the authors from whom we have received them, lived within the compass of those times, whereof we now treat. For thereby it is plain enough (and if it be not, it shall elsewhere be made yet more plain) that in those elder days it was an usual thing, to make prayers and oblations for the rest of those souls, which were not doubted to have been in glory: and consequently, that neither the commemoration nor the praying for the dead, nor the requiem masses of that age, have any necessary relation to the belief of Purgatory. The lesson therefore, which Claudius teaches us here out of Saint Hierom, is very good: that "[m] while we are in this present world, we may be able to help one another, either by our prayers or by our counsels: but when we shall come before the judgment seat of Christ, neither Job, nor Daniel, nor Noah, can intreat for any one, but every one must bear his own burthen." And the advice which the no less learned

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than goodly Abbot Columbanus gives us, is very safe: not to pitch upon uncertainties hereafter, but now to "[a] trust in God, and follow the precepts of Christ; while our life yet remains, and while the time in which we may obtain salvation is certain."

John the Briton (another son of Sulgen Bishop of St. David's) seems also to refer to this advice, when (at the end of the Poem which he wrote of his own and his father's life) he beseeches "[c] his merciful father to pardon, in that paternal love which he is wont to exercise, those words and deeds which proceeded from his ungodly heart, while yet his life is spared, while yet his tears can flow, for in hell no need can be supplied, no prayer be heard."

CHAP. IV.

Of the worship of God, the public form of Liturgy, the Sacrifice and Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

SEDULIUS delivers this general rule for the worship of God: that "[a] to adore any other beside the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is the crime of impiety;" and that "[b] all that the soul owes unto God, if it bestow it upon any beside God, commits adultery." More particularly in reference to images, [c] he reproves the wise men of the Heathen, for thinking that they had found out a way, "how the invisible God might be worshipped

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by a visible image :" with whom also accords Claudius ; that " [d] God is to be known neither in metal nor in stone." And for Oaths, there is a Canon ascribed to St. Patrick, in which it is determined, that the Creator, not the creature is to be sworn by. As for the form of the liturgy, or public service of God, which St. Patrick brought into this country : it is said he received it from Germanus and Lupus ; and that it originally descended from St. Mark the Evangelist. For so have I seen it set down in an ancient fragment, written well nigh 900 years since, remaining now in the library of Sir Robert Cotton, my worthy friend; who can never sufficiently be commended, for his extraordinary care, in preserving all rare monuments of this kind. Yea, St. Hierom's authority is there vouched for proof hereof. "[e] St. Hierom affirms, that the liturgy which is used at present in Scotland, St. Mark sung. Which being not now to be found in any of St. Hierome's works, the truth thereof I leave unto the credit of the reporter.

But whatever liturgy was used here at first : this is sure, that in the succeeding ages no one general form of divine service was retained, but divers rites and manners of celebrations were observed in divers parts of this Kingdom ; until the Roman missal was introduced by Gillebertus, Malachias, and Christianus, who were the Pope's legates here about 500 years ago. This Gillebertus (an old acquaintance of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury) in the prologue of his book *De usu Ecclesiastico*, directed to the whole clergy of Ireland,

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writes in this manner. "[g] At the request, yea, and at the command of many of you (dearly beloved) I endeavour to set down in writing the canonical custom in saying of hours and performing the office of the whole Ecclesiastical order; not presumptuously, but through desire to obey your most godly command: that those various and schismatical orders, with which almost all Ireland has been deluded, may give place to one Catholic and Roman office. For what can be more indecent or schismatical; than that the most learned of one order, should be regarded as a private lay man in another man's church?

These beginnings were presently seconded by Malachias: in whose life, written by Bernard, we read as follows "[h] the Apostolic Constitutions, and the decrees of the holy fathers, especially the customs of the holy church of Rome he established in all Churches. And hence it is, that at this day the canonical hours are chanted and sung in them, according to the manner of the whole earth; which before was not done, no not in the city itself, (the poor city of Armagh he means.) But Malachias had learned to sing in his youth, and shortly after caused singing to be used in his own monastery; when as yet, as well in the city as in the whole bishoprick, they either knew not, or would not sing." Lastly, the work was brought to perfection, when Christianus, Bishop of Lismore, as legate to the Pope, was president in the Council of Cashel; when it was specially ordered, that "[i] the ecclesi-

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astical office should be correctly sung;" and a general act established, that "[k] all divine offices of the holy church should be performed in all parts of Ireland, as the Church of England observes them." The statutes of which Council were [l] confirmed by authority of King Henry II. by whose mandates the Bishops had been convoked, in the year A.D. 1171, as Giraldus Cambrensis witnesses, in his History of the Conquest of Ireland. And thus late was it, before the Roman use was fully settled in this kingdom.

That the Britons used another manner in the administration of the sacrament of baptism, than what the Romans did; appears by the proposition made to them by Austin the monk; [n] "that they should perform the ministry of baptism, according to the custom of the Church of Rome." That their form of liturgy was the same with that which was received by their neighbours the Gauls, is intimated by the author of that ancient fragment before alledged: who also adds, that the "[o] Gallican order was received in the Church throughout the whole World." Yet elsewhere I meet with a sentence alledged out of Gildas; that "[p] the Britons were contrary to the whole world, and enemies to the Roman customs," as well in their mass, as in their tonsure.

To omit however, what I have collected relating to the difference of these tonsures (as a matter of very small moment) and to proceed to the consideration of the mass (for which so great ado is now a-days made by our Romanists) we may observe in the

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first place, that the public liturgy or service of the Church, was of old named the mass: even then also, when prayers were only said, without the celebration of the holy communion. The last mass that St. Colme was ever present at, says "[q] Adamnanus, was the vesper mass of the Lord's day." He died the mid-night following; whence the Lord's day took his beginning (9th viz. *Junii A. D.* 597.) according to the account of the Romans; which the Scottish and Irish seem to have begun from the evening going before, and then was that evening mass said: which in all likelihood, differed not from those evening masses mentioned by [r] Leo the Emperor in his tactics, and which we call *even-song, or evening-prayer.* But the name of the mass, was in those days more especially applied to the administration of the Lord's Supper: and therefore in the same [s] Adamnanus we see that the sacred ministry of the eucharist, and the solemnities of the mass, are taken for the same thing. So likewise in the "[t] relation of the passages that concern the obsequies of Columbanus, performed by Gallus and Magnoaldus;" we find the saying of Mass was the same with the "celebration of the divine mysteries and the oblation of the healthful sacrifice," for by that term was the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at that time usually designated.

As in our "[u] beneficence, and communicating to the necessities of the poor (which are sacrifices with which God is well pleased) we are taught to "[x] give both ourselves and our alms, first unto the

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Lord, and unto our brethren by the will of God, so is it in the ministry of the blessed sacrament. The service is first presented unto God, (from which, as from a most principal part of the duty, the sacrament itself is called the Eucharist; because in it we "[y] offer a special sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving always unto God) and then communicate to the use of God's people." In the performance of which part of the service, both the Minister was said to give, and the communicant to receive the sacrifice: as well as in respect of the former part, they were said to offer the same unto the Lord. For they did not distinguish the sacrifice from the sacrament, as the Romanists do now: but used the name of sacrifice indifferently, both of that which was offered unto God, and of that which was given to and received by the communicant. Therefore we read of offering the sacrifice to God: as in that speech of Gallus to his scholar Magnoaldus, "[z] my master Columbanus, is accustomed to offer unto the Lord the sacrifice of salvation in brazen vessels." Of giving the sacrifice to man: as when it is said in one of the ancient Synods of Ireland, that "[a] a Bishop by his Testament may bequeath a certain proportion of his goods, for a legacy to the Priests that give him the sacrifice, and of receiving the sacrifice from the hands of the Minister:" as in that sentence of the Synod attributed unto St. Patrick; "[b] he who deserves not to receive during his lifetime, how can it help him after his death?" and in that gloss of

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Sedulius upon 1 Cor. xi. 33. "[c] tarry one for another," that is (says he) "until you receive the sacrifice." And in the British antiquities: where we read of Amon, a nobleman in Wales (father to Samson the Saint of Dole in little Britain) that "[d] being taken with a grievous sickness, he was admonished by his neighours, that according to the usual manner he should receive the sacrifice of the communion." Whence it appears that the sacrifice of elder times was not like to the new mass of the Romanists, in which the Priest alone communicates; but to our communion, where others also have free liberty given to them [e] to eat of the Altar, as well as they that serve the Altar.

Again, they that are communicants in the Romish sacrament, receive the Eucharist in one kind only: the Priest in offering the sacrifice receives both the bread and wine, which they tell us "[f] is chiefly done, for the integrity of the sacrifice, and not of the sacrament." For in the sacrifice, they say, "[g] the several elements are consecrated, not into Christ's whole person as it was born of the Virgin, or now is in Heaven: but the bread into his body apart, as betrayed, broken, and given for us; the wine into his blood apart, as shed out of his body for remission of sins, and dedication of the new Testament, which are conditions of his person, as he was in sacrifice and oblation." But our ancestors, in the use of their sacrament, received the Eucharist in both kinds: not being so acute as to discern between the things that belonged unto the

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integrity of the sacrifice, and of the sacrament; because in very truth, they took the one to be the other.

Thus Bede relates, that one Hildmer, an officer of Egfrid, King of Northumberland, intreated our Cuthbert "[h] to send a Priest that might minister the sacraments of the Lord's Body and Blood unto his wife, who was then dying:" and Cuthbert himself, immediately before his own departure out of this life, received the Communion of the Lord's Body and Blood;" as "[i] Herefride, Abbot of the Monastery of Lendisfarne (who was the man that at that time administered the sacrament to him) made report unto the same Bede." Who elsewhere also particularly mentions, that he then tasted of the cup: "He tastes the cup of life," says he, "and protects his upward journey with the blood of Christ," lest any man should think, that under the forms of bread alone, he might be said to have been partaker of the Body and Blood of the Lord, by way of concomitance, which is a toy, that was not once dreamed of in those days. So we need not doubt, what is meant by that which we read in the book of the life of Ferseus (which was written before the time of Bede) that "[l] he received the Communion of the Holy Body and Blood;" and that he wished to admonish "[m] the Pastors of the Church, that they should strengthen the souls of the faithful with the spiritual food of doctrine, and the participation of the Holy Body and Blood." Or of that which Cogitosus writes in the life of St. Bridget, touching the place in the Church

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of Kildare, "whereunto the Abbatess with her maidens and widows used to resort, that they might enjoy the banquet of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ." Which was agreeable to the practice, not only of the Nunneries founded beyond the seas, according to the rule of Columbanus; where the virgins "received the Body of the Lord, and drank his Blood," (as appears by that which Jonas relates of Domna, in the life of Burgundofora:) but also of St Bridget herself who was the foundress of the Monastery of Kildare; one of whose miracles is reported, even in the latter legends, to have happened when she was about to "drink out of the Chalice," at the time of her receiving the Eucharist. Which they that list to look after, may find in the collections of Capgrave, Surius and such like.

But, you will say, these testimonies that have been alledged, make not so much for us, in proving the use of the "Communion under both kinds," as they make against us, in confirming the opinion of Transubstantiation: seeing they all specify the receiving, not of Bread and Wine, but of the Body and Blood of Christ. I answer that forasmuch as Christ himself, at the first institution of his Holy Supper, did say expressly; "this is my Body, and this is my Blood:" he deserves not the name of a Christian, that will question the truth of that saying, or refuse to speak in that language, which he has heard his Lord and Master use before him.* The question only is, in what sense

* It should also be remarked, that in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Chaldeo-Syriac languages, there is no term which expresses to *mean, signify, denote;*

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and after what manner, these things must be conceived to be his Body and Blood. Of which there needed to be little question: if men would be pleased to take into their consideration these two things; which were never doubted of by the ancients, and have most evident ground in the context of the Gospel. First, that the *subject* of those sacramental propositions delivered by our Saviour (that is to say, the demonstrative particle THIS) can have reference to no other substance, but that which he then held in his sacred hands, namely, Bread and Wine: which are of so different a nature from the Body and Blood of Christ, that the one cannot possibly in proper sense be said to be the other; as the light of common reason forces the Romanists themselves to confess. Secondly, that in the *predicate*, or latter part of the same propositions, there is mention made not only of Christ's Body and Blood; but of his body broken, and his blood shed: to shew that his Body is to be considered here apart, not "as it was born of the Virgin, or now is in Heaven," but as it was broken and crucified for us; and his Blood likewise apart, not as running in his veins, but "as shed out of his Body;" which the Rhemists have told us to be "conditions of his person, as he was in sacrifice and oblation."

hence the Hebrews always say *it is*, for *it signifies*. Accordingly we find the Evangelist using a verbal translation of the exact form of speech, which in Syriac, (the language in which our Lord spoke,) would have been the vernacular mode of expressing, This *represents* my body, this *represents* my blood.

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And lest we should imagine, that his Body was otherwise to be considered in the *sacrament* than in the *sacrifice;* in the one *alive*, as it is in Heaven, in the other *dead*, as it was offered upon the Cross: the Apostle puts the matter out of doubt, that not only the Minister in offering, but also the people in receiving, even "as often as they eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, do shew the Lord's Death until he comes."* Our Elders surely, that held the sacrifice to be given and received (for so we have heard themselves speak) as well as offered; did not consider otherwise of Christ in the sacrament, than "as he was in sacrifice and oblation." If here therefore Christ's Body be presented as broken and lifeless, and his Blood as shed forth and severed from his Body; and it be most certain, that there are no such things now really existent any where (as is confessed on all hands:) then must it follow necessarily, that the Bread and Wine are not converted into these things really. The "Rhemists indeed tell us that when the Church offers and sacrifices Christ daily; he dies in mystery and sacrament." Further than this they durst not go: for if they had said, he died really; they should thereby not only make themselves daily killers of Christ, but also directly cross that principle of the Apostle, "Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more."† If then the body of Christ, in the administration of the Eucharist, be propounded, as dead (as has been shewed) and die it cannot

* 1 Cor. xi. 26. † Rom. vi, 9.

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really, but only in mystery and sacrament: how can it be thought to be contained under the outward elements, otherwise than "in sacrament and mystery?" And such as in times past were said to have received the sacrifice from the hand of the Priest; what other Body and Blood could they expect to receive therein, but such as was suitable to the nature of the sacrifice, to wit, *mystical and sacramental?*

Cœlius Sedulius, (to whom Gelasius, Bishop of Rome, with his Synod of seventy Bishops, gives the title of "[r] venerable Sedulius;" and Venantius Fortunatus of "[s] conspicuous Sedulius;" and Hildephonsus Toletanus of the "[t] good Sedulius, the Evangelical Poet, the eloquent orator, and the Catholic writer") is by Trithemius and others supposed to be the same with our "[u] Sedulius of Scotland, (or Ireland,) whose collections are extant upon St. Paul's epistles, although I have forborn hitherto to use any of his testimonies, because I have some reason to doubt whether he was the same with our Sedulius or not. But Cœlius Sedulius (whatever countryman he was) intimates plainly, that the things offered in the Christian sacrifice are the fruit of the Corn and of the Vine." [w] In fine, says he, who else presides as chief Pontiff, and high Priest, but Christ? Instituter of the two-fold libation, of the order of Melchisedeck, to whom his own gifts, the fruit of the corn, and the joy of the vine are always offered." Or, as he expresses in his prose; "[x] the sweet meat of the seed of wheat, and the lovely drink of the pleasant vine."

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Of Melchisedeck (according to whose order Christ, and he only, was Priest) our own Sedulius writes thus: "[z] Melchisedeck offered wine and bread to Abraham for a figure of Christ, offering his body and blood unto God his Father upon the Cross." Where remark, that first he says, Melchisedeck offered bread and wine to Abraham, not to God: and secondly, that he was a figure of Christ offering his body and blood upon the Cross, not in the Eucharist. But we (says "[a] he) offer daily, for a commemoration of the Lord's Passion, (once performed,) and our own salvation." And elsewhere, expounding those words of our Saviour, "do this in remembrance of me;" he brings in this similitude, used before and after him by others. "[b] He left us a memorial of himself; even as if one that was going a far journey, should leave some token of affection with a loved companion; that as often as he beholds it, he may call to remembrance his benefits and friendship."

Claudius remarks, that our Saviour first wished, "[c] to deliver to his disciples the sacrament of his Body and Blood which he signified by the breaking of the Body and the effusion of the cup; and afterwards to offer up the Body itself upon the Altar of the Cross." Where at the first sight I did verily think, that in the words the breaking of the Body, an error had been committed in my transcript, (*body* being mis-written for *bread*) but afterwards comparing it with the original, whence I took my copy, I found that the author retained the manner of speaking used both before [c] and after his time;

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in giving the name of the thing signified unto the sign, even there where the direct intention of the speech was to distinguish the one from the other. For he expressly distinguishes "the Sacrament of the Body," which was delivered unto the disciples, from the Body itself, which was afterwards offered upon the cross: and for the sacramental relation between them both, he renders this reason: "[f] because bread strengthens the body, and wine produces blood in the flesh; therefore the one is mystically referred to the Body of Christ, the other to his blood." Which doctrine of his (that the sacrament is not in its own nature Bread and Wine, but the Body and Blood of Christ by mystical relation) was in effect the same, with that which long afterwards was maintained in Ireland, by Henry Crump, the monk of Baltinglas, "[g] that the Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar, is only a looking-glass to the Body of Christ in Heaven:" yea, and within fifty or threescore years of the time of Claudius Scotus himself, was so fully maintained by Johannes Scotus, in a book that he purposely wrote on that subject, that when it was alledged and extolled by Berengarius, Pope Leo (the ninth) with his Bishops assembled in the Synod of Versails, 1050 (which was 235 years after the time that Claudius wrote his commentaries upon St. Matthew,) had no other means to avoid it, but by flatly [h] condemning it. Of what great esteem this John was with King Alfred, may be seen in William of Malmes-

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bury, Roger Hoveden, Matthew of Westminster, and other writers of the English History. The King himself, in the preface before his Saxon translation of St. Gregories pastoral, professes that he was assisted in that work by [i] *John his mass-priest.* By whom if he did mean this John of ours, you may see, how in those days, a man might be considered a mass-priest, who was very far from thinking that he offered up the very Body and Blood of Christ, really present under the forms of Bread and Wine; which is the only mass that our Romanists acknowledge such.

Of which wonderful point how ignorant our Elders were, even this also may be one argument; that the author of the book "of the wonderful things of the Holy Scripture" (before alledged) passes this quite over, which is now esteemed to be the wonder of all wonders. And yet professes that he "[k] purposed to pass over nothing of the wonders of the Scripture, wherein they might seem not ably to swerve from the ordinary administration in other things."

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CHAP. V.

Of Chrism, Sacramental Confession, Penance, Absolution, Marriage, Divorces, and single life in the Clergy.

THAT the Irish baptized their infants without any consecrated Chrism, Lanfranc complains in his letters to Terdeluacus (or Tirlagh) the chief King of that country. And Bernard reports, that Malachias in his time (which was after the days of Lanfranc and Pope Hildebrand) instituted the most salutary practice of confession, the sacrament of confirmation, and the contract of marriages:" all which he says the Irish before were either ignorant of, or neglected. Which, as far as relates to confession, may receive some further confirmation from the testimony of Alcuinus; who writing unto the Scottish (or, as other copies read, the Gothish) and commending the religious conversation of their Laity, who "[c] in the midst of their worldly employments were said to lead a most chaste life;" condemns notwithstanding another custom, which was said to have continued in that country. "[d] It is said (says he) that no man of the Laity will make his confession to the Priests; whom we believe to have received from the Lord Christ the power of binding and loosing, together with the holy Apostles.

They had no reason indeed to believe (as Alcuinus

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did) that they ought to confess unto a Priest all the sins they could remember: but upon special occasions, they did (no doubt) both publicly and privately make confession of their faults; as well that they might receive counsel and direction for their recovery, as that they might be made partakers of the benefit of the keys, for the quieting of their troubled consciences. Whatever the Gothish did (by whom we are to understand the inhabitants of Languedoc in France, where Alcuinus lived) sure we are, that this was the practice of the ancient Scottish and Irish. So we read of one Fiachna, or Fechnaus, that being touched with remorse for some offence committed by him, he fell at St. Colmes feet, lamenting bitterly, and "[e] confessed his sins before all that were there present." Whereupon the holy man, weeping together with him, is said to have returned this answer: "[f] rise up, son, and be comforted, thy sins which thou hast committed are forgiven; because (as it is written) a contrite and an humble heart God does not despise." We read also of Adamnanus, that being very much terrified with the remembrance of a grievous sin committed by him in his youth; he "[g] resorted to a Priest, from whom he hoped to learn the way of salvation, confessed his guilt to him, and intreated that he would give him such counsel, as would enable him to flee from the wrath of God that was to come."

Now the counsel commonly given to the penitent after confession, was, that he should [h] wipe away

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his sins "by meet fruits of repentance:" which course Bede observes was usually prescribed by our Cuthbert. For penances were then exacted, as testimonies of the sincerity of that inward repentance which was necessarily required for obtaining remission of the sin; and so had reference to the taking away of the guilt, and not of the temporal punishment, remaining after the forgiveness of the guilt; which is the new-found use of penances, invented by our latter Romanists. One old penitential Canon we find laid down in a Synod held in this country about the year of our Lord 450 by St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus: which is as follows: "i a Christian who has committed murder or fornication, or gone to a soothsayer after the manner of the Gentiles, for every such crime shall do a year of penance: when his year of penance is accomplished, he shall come with witnesses, and afterwards he shall be absolved by the Priest." These Bishops appointed (we see) according to the discipline generally used in those times, that the penance should first be performed; and when long and good proof had been given by that means of the truth of the parties repentance, they wished the Priest to impart to him the benefit of absolution. Whereas by the new device of sacramental penance, the matter is now far more easily transacted: by virtue of the keys the sinner is instantly of *attrite* made *contrite*, and thereupon as soon as he has made his confession, he presently receives his absolu-

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tion: after this, some trivial *penance* is imposed, which upon better consideration may be converted into *pence;* and so a quick end is made of many a foul business.

But for the right use of the keys, we fully accord with Claudius: that [k] the office of remitting and retaining sins which was given to the Apostles, "is now in the Bishops and Priests committed to every Church, Namely, that having taken knowledge of the causes of such as have sinned, as many as they shall behold humble and truly penitent, those they may now with compassion absolve from the fear of everlasting death; but such as they shall discern to persist in the sins which they have committed, those they may declare to be bound over unto never-ending punishment." And in thus absolving such as are truly penitent, we willingly yield, that the pastors of God's Church remit sins after their manner, that is to say, ministerially and improperly: so that the privilege of forgiving sins properly, and absolutely, is still reserved to God alone. Which is at large set out by the same Claudius; where he expounds the history of the man sick of the palsey, that was cured by our Saviour in the ninth of St. Matthew. For, following Bede upon that place, he writes thus: "[l] The Scribes say true, that none can forgive sins but God alone; who also forgives by them, to whom he has given the power of forgiving. And therefore is Christ proved to be truly God; because he forgives sins as God. They

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render a true testimony to God: but in denying the person of Christ, they are deceived." And again, "[m] if it be God that, according to the psalmist, removes our sins as far from us, as the East is distant from the West; and the Son of Man has power upon earth to forgive sins: therefore he himself is both God and the Son of Man. That both the Man Christ might by the power of his divinity forgive sins; and the same Christ being God, might by the frailty of his humanity die for sinners." And out of St. Hierome: "[n] Christ shews himself to be God, who can know the hidden things of the heart; and thus though silent speaks: By the same majesty and power, whereby I behold your thoughts, I can also forgive sins unto men." In like manner the author of the book of the wonderful things of the Scripture observes these [o] divine works in the same history: "the forgiving of sins, the present cure of the disease, and the answering of the thoughts by the mouth of God who searcheth all things." With whom, for the property of beholding the secret thoughts, Sedulius also concurs in those sentences; "[p] God alone can know the hidden things of men."—"[q] To know the hearts of men, and to discern the secrets of their mind, is the previlege of God alone."

That the contract of marriages, was either unknown or neglected by the Irish, before Malachias instituted the same anew among them (as Bernard seems to intimate) is a thing almost incredible.

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Although [r] Giraldus Cambrensis complains that the case was little better with them after the time of Malachias also. The licentiousness of those ruder times, I know, was such as may easily induce us to believe, that a great neglect and abuse of God's ordinance obtained footing among this people. Which enormities Malachias, no doubt, laboured to reform, and withal peradventure brought in some new matters, not known here before; as he was very desirous his countrymen should generally conform themselves to the traditions and customs of the Church of Rome. But our purpose is only to enquire into the doctrine and practice of the elder times: in which, first, that marriage was not held to be a sacrament, may be collected from "[s] Sedulius, who reckons it among those things, which are "gifts indeed, but not spiritual.

Secondly for the degrees of consanguinity hindering marriage, the Synod attribute to St. Patrick, seems to refer us wholly to the levitical law; prescribing "[t] neither less nor more than the law:" and particularly, against marrying the wife of the deceased brother (which was the point so much questioned in the case of King Henry the Eighth) this [u] Synodical decree is there urged. "The brother may not ascend into the bed of his deceased brother: the Lord having said, they two shall be one flesh." Therefore the wife of thy brother, is thy sister. Whereupon we find also, that our Kilianus suffered martyrdom for [x] dissolving such an incestuous mar-

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riage in Gozbertus, Duke of Franconia: and that Clemens Scotus, for maintaining the contrary, was both by [y] Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, and the [z] Council held at Rome, by Pope Zachary, in the year 745, condemned as a bringer-in of Judaism among Christians. Yet how far this condemned opinion of his prevailed afterwards in this country, and how foul a crime it was esteemed to be by others abroad (notwithstanding the Pope by his bulls of dispensation takes upon him now to permit it,) may easily be perceived by this censure of Geraldus: "[a] Moreover, (says he,) which is very detestable, and most contrary not only to the faith, but also unto common honesty: brethren, in many places throughout Ireland, I will say not marry, but mar rather and seduce the wives of their deceased brothers, while in this sort they filthily and incestuously have knowledge of them: cleaving not to the marrow, but to the bark of the Old Testament, and desiring to imitate the ancients in vices more willingly than in virtues."

Thirdly, with reference to divorces, we read in Sedulius, that "[b] it is not lawful, according to the precept of our Lord, that the wife should be put away, but for the cause of fornication." And in the Synod ascribed to St. Patrick; "[c] it is not lawful for a man to put away his wife, but for the cause of fornication. As if he should say, for this cause, he may. Whence if he marry another, as it were after the death of the former, they forbid it not." Who they were, that did not forbid this second mar-

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riage, is not there expressed; that St. Patrick himself was of another mind, would appear by this Constitution following; which in another ancient Canon book I found cited under his name. [d] "If any man's wife have committed adultery with another man, ; he shall not marry another wife, as long as the first wife shall be alive. If peradventure she is converted, and repents; he shall receive her; and she shall serve him in the place of a maid-servant. Let her for a whole year do penance in bread and water, and that by measure; neither let them remain in the same bed together."

Fourthly, concerning single life, I do not find in any of our records, that it was generally imposed upon the clergy; but the contrary rather. For in the synod held by St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus; it is specially ordered, [e] that their wives shall not walk abroad, with their heads uncovered. And St. Patrick himself confesses (at leastwise the confession which goes under his name says so; and Probus, Jocelinus, and others that write his life, agree herewith) that he [f] had to his father Calphurnius a deacon, and to his grandfather Potitus a priest. For that was no new thing then among the Britains, whose bishops therefore Gildas reprehends, (as also for the same cause the chief of the laity,) that they were not content to be the husbands of one but of many wives, and that they corrupted their children by their evil example: whereas [g] "the chastity of the fathers was to be esteemed imperfect, if it was not encreased by the chastity of the sons."

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Nennius, the eldest Historiographer of the Brittains which we have after him (who in many copies also bears his own name,) wrote that book which we have extant of his to [h] "Samuel the child of Benlanus the priest, his master," counting it a favour rather than any kind of disparagement to him, to be esteemed the son of a learned priest. Which makes him in the [i] verses prefixed before the work, say, "Christ has bestowed thee, thy mother's joy, upon thy father."

But about 60 or 70 years after, I find some partial eclipse here, (and the first, I think, of this kind, that can be shewed among the Britains) in the laws of Howel Dha; where it is ordered, that [k] if a clerk of a lower degree should marry a woman, and have a son by her, and that clerk after having received the order of priesthood, should have another son by the same woman, the former son should enjoy his father's whole estate, without being bound to divide the same with his other brother. Yet these marriages for all that were so held out, that the fathers not content their sons should succeed them in their temporal estate alone, prevailed so far that they continued them in the succession of their spiritual promotions also. Which abuse Giraldus Cambrensis [l] complains to have been continued in Wales to his time; and out of [m] Hildebertus Cenomanensis shews to have prevailed in little Brittain also: whence he infers, that [n] "this vice was of old common to the whole British nation, as well on this side as on the other side of the sea."

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whereunto for Ireland also we may add the letters written by Pope Innocent the Third unto Johannes Salernitanus the Cardinal, his legate, [c] for abolishing the custom there, whereby sons and grandchildren used to succeed their fathers and grandfathers in their ecclesiastical benefices.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Discipline of our ancient Monks; and Abstinence from Meats.

WHAT has been said of the married clergy, concerns the Seculars, and not the Regulars, of whom there was a very great number in Ireland; because here [a] "almost all the Prelates were wont to be chosen into the Clergy out of monasteries." For our monasteries in ancient time were the seminaries of the ministry; being as it were so many colleges of learned divines, whereunto the people usually resorted for instruction, and from whence the church was wont continually to be supplied with able ministers. The benefit whereof was not only contained within the limits of this Island, but extended itself to foreign countries likewise. For this it was that drew [b] Egbert and Ceadda (for example into Ireland; that they might there "lead a monastical life in prayers and continency, and meditation of the Holy Scriptures:" and hence were those famous monasteries planted in England by Aiden, Colman, and others; to which [c] "the people flocked

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in great numbers on the Lord's Day, not for the feeding of their body, but for the learning of the word of God," as Bede witnesses. Yea this was the principal means, whereby the knowledge both of the Scriptures and of all other good learning, was preserved in that inundation of barbarism, wherewith the whole West was in a manner overwhelmed. "Hitherto (says [d] Curio) it might seem that the studies of wisdom would quite have perished; unless God had reserved a seed in some corner of the World. Among the Scottish and the Irish something as yet remained of the doctrine of the knowledge of God, and of civil honesty; because there was no terror of arms in those utmost ends of the World. And we may there behold and adore the great goodness of God; that among the Scots, and in those places where no man would have thought it, so many great companies should be associated together under the most strict discipline."

How strict their discipline was, may appear partly by the rule, and partly by the daily penances of Monks; which are yet extant of the writing of Columbanus. In the latter of those, for the disobedience of Monks these penances are prescribed. "[e] If any brother be disobedient; he shall fast two days, with one bisket and water. If any say I will not do it; three days with one bisket and water. If any murmur; two days with one bisket and water. If any do not ask leave, or give a just excuse; two days, with one bisket and water;" and so in other particulars. In this rule he gives

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these good lessons to his Monks, among many others: that "[f] it profited them little, if they were virgins in body, and were not virgins in mind." That they "[g] should daily profit, as they daily prayed and daily read." That "[h] the good things of the Pharisee being vainly praised were lost, and the sins of the Publican being accused vanished away: and therefore that a great word should not come out of the mouth of a Monk lest his great labour should perish." They were not taught to vaunt of their state of perfection, and works of supererogation: or to argue from thence (as Celestius the Pelagian Monk sometime did) that "[i] by the nature of their free-will they had such a possibility of not sinning, that they were able also to do more than was commanded; because they did observe perpetual virginity which is not commanded, whereas for not sinning it is sufficient to fufil the precepts." It was one of the the points which Gallus (the scholar of Columbanus) delivered in his sermon preached at Constance; that our Saviour "[k] so persuaded the Apostles and their followers to lay hold upon the good of virginity; as to acquaint them with this, that it was not derived from human industry, but was communicated by divine gift." And it is a good observation which we read in Claudius; that "[l] not only in the splendor of bodily things, but also in mournful abasing of one's self, there may be boasting; and that so much the more dangerous, as it deceives under the name of doing God service.

Our Monks were *religious* indeed, and not in

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name only; far were they from the hyprocrisy, pride, idleness, and uncleanness of these *evil beasts* and *slothful bellies*, that afterwards succeeded in their room. Under colour of forsaking all, they did not hook all unto themselves; nor under semblance of devotion, did they devour widow's houses: they held begging to be no point of perfection; but [m] remembered the words of our Lord Jesus, how he said, "it is more blessed to give than to receive." When King Sigebert made large offers unto Columbanus and his companions, to keep them within his dominions in France; he received such another answer from them, as [n] Thaddæus in the ecclesiastical history is said to have given to Abgarus the Governor of Edessa: "[o] We who have forsaken our own, that according to the commandment of the Gospel we might follow the Lord, ought not to embrace other men's riches; lest peradventure we should prove transgressors of the divine commandment." How then did these men live, will you say? Walafridus Strabus tells us that "[p] some of them wrought in the garden, others dressed the orchard;" Gallus made nets and took fish, wherewith he not only relieved his own company, but also assisted strangers. So Bede reports of Cuthbert, that when he retired himself unto an anchoretical life, he "[q] first indeed received a little bread from his brethren to feed upon, and drank out of his own well; but afterwards he thought it more fit to live by the work of his own hands, after the example of the fathers; and therefore entreated, that instruments might

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be brought him, with which he might till the earth, and corn that he might sow." He also reports this observation of his, "whoever wishes to provide a livelihood by the labour of his own hands, let him endeavour to cultivate the soil, and to look with hope for the return of his annual harvest."

He relates also the same of [t] Furseus; and Bonifacius of [u] Livinus; and Theodorus Campidonensis, (or whoever else wrote that book) of [w] Gallus, Magnoaldus, and the other followers of Columbanus; that they procured their livelihood by the labour of their own hands. And the [x] Apostles rule is generally laid down for all Monks, in the life of Furseus: "[y] They who live in Monasteries should work with silence, and eat their own bread."

But now there is started up a new generation of men, that refuse to eat their own bread, and count it a high point of sanctity to live by begging of other men's bread; if yet the course they take may rightly be termed begging. For as Richard Fitz-Ralph, that famous Archbishop of Armagh, objected to their faces, before the Pope himself and his Cardinals in [z] his time (and the matter is little amended, I wiss, in ours) "scarce could any great or poor man of the Clergy or the Laity eat his meat, but such kind of beggars would intrude on him; not like other poor folks, humbly craving alms at the gate or the door (as Francis commanded and taught them in his testament) by begging; but without shame intruding themselves

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into courts or houses, and lodging there, where, without any invitation, they eat and drink what they find among them: and not content with such conduct, carry away with them either wheat, or meal, or bread, or flesh, or Cheese (although there were but two in an house) in an extorting manner; there being no one who can refuse their petitions unless he would divest himself of natural shame."

The renowned Primate, (whose anniversary memory is still celebrated in Dundalk where he was born and buried, by the name of Saint Richard,) publicly delivered these sentiments in the year 1357, at the consistory of Avignon; where he stoutly maintained against the whole rabble of the Friars, what he had preached the year before at Paul's Cross unto the people. He then deduced these conclusions, "a That our Lord Jesus Christ although in his human conversation he was indeed always poor," yet he never voluntarily begged himself, nor taught others to be voluntary mendicants; but on the contrary taught them not to be willing beggars. And that no man could prudently and holily take upon himself the perpetual observations of voluntary beggary; forasmuch as such kind of begging as well by Christ, as by his Apostles and Disciples, by the Church and by the holy Scriptures, was both spoken against and also reproved.

His countryman Henry Crumpe, (a Monk of the Cistercian order in Baltinglass,) not long after,

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treading in his steps, was accused for delivering in his determinations at Oxford: that "[b] the Friars of the four mendicant orders are not, nor ever were instituted by God's inspiration, but that contrary to the general council of Lateran, held under Innocent the Third (which prohibited the bringing in of any more new religious orders into the Church) and by feigned and false dreams, Pope Honorius being persuaded by the Friars, did confirm them," and "[c] that all the doctors which determined for the Friars' side, were either afraid to speak the truth, lest their books should be condemned as heretical by the Friars who had become inquisitors; or said, as it seems, or proceeded only by way of disputation, and not of determination: because if they had avowed the truth plainly in behalf of the Church, the Friars would have persecuted them, as they persecuted the holy doctor Armachanus." Which Crump himself found afterwards to be too true by his own experience. For he was forced to deny and abjure these assertions in the house of the Carmelite Friars at Stanford, before William Courtney Archbishop of Canterbury: and then silenced, that he should not exercise publicly any act in the schools, either by reading, preaching, disputing, or determining; until he should have a special license from the said Archbishop to do so.

But to leave the begging Friars, (being a kind of creatures unknown to the Church for twelve hundred years after Christ) and to return to the labouring Monks: we find it related of our Bren-

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dan: that he "[d] governed three thousand such Monks, who by their own manual labours procured their living." Which agrees well with that saying, ascribed to him by the writer of his life: "[e] a Monk ought to be fed and cloathed by the labour of his own hands." Neither was there any other order observed in that famous Monastery of Bangor among the Britains, "[f] wherein there is said to have been so great a number of Monks, that the Monastery being divided into seven portions, (together with the rectors appointed over them) none of all these portions had less than three hundred persons in them: all which (says Bede) were wont to live by the labour of their own hands." From the destruction of which Monastery, unto the erection of Tuy Gwyn, or Whitehouse (which is said to have been about the year 1146) the writer of the Welsh Chronicle observes that there were no Abbeys among the Britains.

Here in Ireland Bishop Colman founded the Monastery of Magio (in the County of Limerick) for the entertainment of the English; where they "lived according to the example of the reverend Fathers (as Bede writes) under a rule and a canonical Abbot, in great continency and sincerity, with the labour of their own hands." Like whereunto was the Monastery of Mailros also, planted by Bishop Aidan and his followers in Northumberland; where St Cuthbert received his education: of whom

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Bede affirms, in his prosaic history, that "[g] the life of such Monks was justly to be admired, which were in all things subject to the commands of their Abbot; and ordered all the times of their watching, praying, fasting, and working, according to his direction." And in his odes he also affirms, that "they love to regulate their watches, fastings, prayers, and manual labour, according to the will of their governor."

As for their fasting, (for of their watching and praying there is no question made; and of their working we have already spoken sufficiently;) by the rule of Columbanus, they were "[h] every day to fast, and every day to eat:" that by this means, "[i] the ability of spiritual proficiency might be retained, with such abstinence as macerates the flesh." He would therefore have them "[i] every day to eat; because they were every day to profit;" and because "[k] abstinence, if it did exceed measure, would prove a vice and not a virtue." And he would have them to fast every day too, that is, not to eat any meat at all (for other fasts were not known in those days) until evening. "[l] Let the food of Monks (says he) be mean, and taken at evening; flying satiety and excess of drink: that it may both sustain them and not hurt them." This was the daily fasting and feeding of them that lived according to the rule of Columbanus, although the strictness of the fast seems to have been kept on Wednesdays and Fridays only: which were the days of the week, wherein the ancient Irish (agreeable to the custom of the Grecian rather than the

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Roman Church) were wont to observe abstinence both from meat, and from the marriage-bed.— Whence in the book before alledged, of the daily penances of Monks, we find this order set down by the same Columbanus: that "[m] if any one, unless he were weak, did upon the Wednesday or Friday eat before the ninth hour:" (that is to say before three o'clock in the afternoon, according to our account) he should be punished with fasting two days in bread and water. But in Bede's ecclesiastical history; that [n] such as followed the information of Aidan, did upon the same days observe their fast, until the same hour. In which history we also read of Bishop Cedd (who was brought up at Lindisfarne with our Aidan and Finan) that keeping a strict fast, upon a special occasion in the time of Lent, he did "[o] every day, except the Lord's day, continue his fast (as the manner was) until the evening; and then also did eat nothing but a small pittance of bread and one egg, with a little milk mingled with water."— Where by the way you may note, that in those days eggs were eaten in lent, and the Sundays excepted from fasting, even then when the abstinence was precisely and in more than an ordinary manner observed.

But generally for this point of the difference of meats, it is well remarked by Claudius out of St. Augustine, that "[p] the children of wisdom do understand, that neither in abstaining nor in eating is there any virtue; but in contentedness of bearing the want, and temperance of not corrupting a

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man's self by abundance, and of opportunely taking or not taking those things, of which not the use but the concupiscence, is to be blamed." And in the life of Furseus, the hypocrisy of them is justly taxed, who being "[q] assaulted with spiritual vices, do yet omit the care of them, and afflict their body with abstinence:" who "[r] abstaining from meats which God has created to be received with thanksgiving, fall to wicked things, as if they were lawful; pride, covetousness, envy, false witnessing, backbiting." To whom Gildas gives this good censure, in one of his epistles, which now are lost, "[s] These men, while they feed on bread by measure, for this very same thing glory without measure; while they use water, they are withal drenched with the cup of hatred; while they feed on dry meats, they use detractions; while they spend themselves in watchings, they dispraise others that are oppressed with sleep; preferring fasting before charity, watching before justice, their own invention before concord, severity before humility, and lastly, man before God. Such men's fasting, unless it be followed by some virtues, profits nothing: but they who perfect love, say with the harp of the Holy Ghost; all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags." Thus Gildas, who upon this ground lays down this sound conclusion; with which we will sum up this whole matter: "[t] Abstinence from corporal meats is unprofitable without charity. They are therefore the better men, who do not fast much, or abstain from the creatures of God beyond measure, but carefully keep their heart within pure

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before God, from whence they know cometh the issues of life; than they who eat no flesh, nor take delight in secular dinners, nor ride with coaches or horses, thinking themselves hereby to be as it were superior to others; upon whom death has entered through the windows of haughtiness."

CHAP. VII.

Of the Church, and various state thereof, especially in the days of Antichrist: of miracles also, and of the head of the Church.

CONCERNING the Catholic Church, our doctors taught with St. Gregory; that God "[a] has a vineyard, to wit, the Universal Church, which from just Abel, until the last of the elect, that shall be born in the end of the world, as many Saints as it has brought forth, so many branches (as it were) has it budded." That "[b] the congregation of the just is called the kingdom of Heaven; which is the Church of the just." That "[c] the sons of the Church are all such as, from the beginning of mankind until now, have attained to be just and holy." That [d] what is said of the body, may be said also of the members; and that in this respect, "as well the apostles and all believers, as the Church itself, have the title of a pillar given them in the Scriptures." That [e] the Church may be considered in two ways: both as that which neither has spot or wrinkle, and is truly the body of Christ, and that

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which is gathered in the name of Christ without full and perfect virtue;" which notwithstanding by the warrant of the Apostle, may have the name of the Church given to it, although it be depraved with error. That "[f] the Church is said not to have spot or wrinkle, in respect of the life to come." That when the Apostle says; "in a great house there are not only vessels of Gold, &c. but some to honour, and some to dishonour:* by this "[g] great house he does not understand the Church (as some have thought) which has not spot nor wrinkle: but the world, in which the tares are mingled with the wheat." That yet in "[h] the holy Church also, the evil are mingled with the good, and the reprobate with the elect:" and that in this respect it is resembled unto the wise and foolish virgins; as also to "[i] the King's marriage, by which this present Church is designed, wherein the good and the bad meet together." So that "[k] in this Church, either the bad can be without the good, nor the good without the bad: whom the holy Church notwithstanding receives indifferently, and separates afterwards at the time of their departure."

The number of the good, Gildas complains to have been [l] so exceeding small in his time among the Britains, in comparison of the other; that their "mother the Chuch in a manner did not see them lying in her own lap, who were the only true sons she had." And for external pressures, our doctors have delivered that "[m] the Church some-

* 2 Tim. ii. 20.

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times is not only afflicted, but also defiled with such oppressions of the Gentiles; that if it were possible, her Redeemer might seem for a time utterly to have forsaken her:" and that in the raging times of Antichrist, "[n] the Church shall not appear; by reason that the impious persecutors shall then execute their cruelty beyond all measure." That in those "[o] times of Antichrist, not only more frequent and more bitter torments shall be imposed upon the faithful, than before they were accustomed to; but (what is more grievous) the working of miracles also shall accompany those that inflict the torments; as the Apostle witnesses, saying; whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all seduction, signs, and lying wonders." Namely, "[p] juggling ones; as it was foretold before; they shall shew such signs that, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived, by this phantastical power, such a power as Jamnes and Mambres exercised in the presence of Pharaoh." "[q] What unbeliever therefore (say they) will then be converted to the faith? and who is he that already believes whose faith trembles not and is not shaken? when the persecutor of piety is the worker of wonders: and the same man that exercises cruelty with torments, that Christ may be denied; provokes by miracles, that Antichrist may be believed?" And "[r] what a pure and single eye is required to discover the way of wisdom; against which the deceits and errors of evil and perverse men, has created so great an opposition? all which

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notwithstanding men must encounter before they arrive at secure peace, and the immoveable stability of wisdom."

Hence concerning miracles, they give us these instructions. First, "'if an angel should shew himself to us to seduce us, being suborned with the deceits of his father the devil, neither ought he to prevail against us; nor any one who works a miracle, as it is said of Simon Magus that he flew in the air:" "'neither signs should terrify us, as done by the spirit; because our Saviour also has given us warning of this before-hand."* Secondly, that "'the faith having increased, miracles were to cease; forasmuch as they are declared to have been given for their sakes that believe not." And therefore "'now when the number of the faithful is increased, there are many within the holy Church who possess the life of virtues, and yet have not those signs of virtues: because a miracle is in vain wrought *outwardly*, if that be wanting which it should work *inwardly*. For according to the observation of the instructor of the Gentiles; 'languages are for a sign, not to the faithful but to Infidels.'"† Thirdly, that the working of miracles is no good argument to prove the holiness of those who perform them: and therefore "'when the Lord does such things to convince infidels, he yet gives us warning that we should not be deceived, supposing invisible wisdom to be there, where we shall behold a visible miracle." For he says: "many shall say to me

*Mat. xxiv. 24, 25. † 1. Cor. xiv. 22.

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in that day, Lord, Lord; have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many miracles?"* Fourthly that "[x] he tempts God, who for his own vain glory ostentaciously performs a superfluous and unprofitable miracle." Such as that (for example) was, whereunto the Devil tempted our Saviour,† to come down headlong from the pinacle of the temple to the plain, "[y] every miracle being vain, which does not in some degree advance the salvation of man." Whence we may easily know how to judge of that infinite number of idle miracles, with which the lives of our Saints are every where filled: many whereof we may justly censure (as [z] Amphilochius, the tales the Poets tell of their gods.) "Fables, of laughter worthy, and of teare;" Yea, some of them also we may rightly brand, as "unseemly fables, and devils documents." For what (for example) can be more unseemly, and tend further to the advancement of the doctrine of devils, than that which Cogitosus relates in the life of St. Bridget? that she, to save the credit of a nun who was with child, [a] blessed her faithfully forsooth (for so the author speaks) and so caused her conception to vanish away, "without any delivery, and without any pain," which, to preserve St. Bridget's own credit, either [b] Hen. Canisius or the Friars of Aichstad (from whom he had his copy of Cogitosus) erased, and preferred leaving a blank in the

* Matth. vii. 22. † Matth. iv. 6.

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book, to suffering so lewd a tale to stand in it." But I will not stir this puddle any further; but proceed on, unto some better matter.

We are now arrived at the great question which relates to the *Head* and the *Foundation* of the Church, concerning which Sedulius observes, that the title of foundation is attributed both to Christ, and to the Apostles and Prophets; that where it is said,* "Behold, I lay in Sion a Stone, &c." "It is certain, that by the rock or stone, Christ is signified." That in Ephes. ii. 20, "the Apostles are the foundation, or Christ rather the foundation of the Apostles. For Christ (says he) is the foundation, who is also called the corner-stone, joining and holding together the two walls. Therefore is he the foundation and chief stone, because in him the Church is both founded and finished;" and we are to account the Apostles "as Ministers of Christ, and not as the foundation." The famous place,† (where our Romanists lay the main foundation of the Papacy) Claudius expounds in this manner, "upon this rock will I build my Church, that is to say, upon the Lord and Saviour, who granted to his faithful friend, lover, and confessor the participation of his own name, that from Petra (the rock) he should be called Peter. The Church is builded upon him; because only by the faith and love of Christ, by the receiving of the sacraments of Christ, by the observation of the Commandments of Christ, we come to the inheritance of the elect

* Isaiah xxviii. 16. † Matth. xvi. 18.

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and eternal life, as witness the Apostle, who says; Other foundation can no man lay, besides that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus."

Yet does the same Claudius acknowledge, [h] that St. Peter received a kind of primacy for founding the Church (in reference to which he terms him [i] the prince of the Church, and the prince or chief of the Apostles) but he adds, "Saint Paul also was chosen in the same manner, to have the primacy in founding the Churches of the Gentiles;" and [k] received this gift from God, that he should be worthy to have the primacy in preaching to the Gentiles, as Peter had it in preaching to the Circumcision:" and therefore "[l] St. Paul challenges this grace as granted by God to him alone, as it was granted to Peter alone among the Apostles," and he esteems himself "[m] not inferior to St. Peter, because both of them were by one ordained unto one and the same Ministry;" and writing to the Galatians, [n] he names himself in the title, an Apostle of Christ, to the end, that by the very authority of that name, he might terrify his readers, judging that all such as believed in Christ, ought to be subject to him."

It is also observed by Claudius, that [o] as when our Saviour propounded the question "generally to all the Apostles, Peter answered as one for all; so what our Lord answered to Peter, in Peter he answered all;" and therefore "[p] however the power of loosing and binding might seem to be given by the Lord to Peter, yet without doubt

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it is to be known, that it was given to the rest of the Apostles also, as himself witnesses, who appearing to them after the triumph of his passion and resurrection, breathed on them, and said to them all, receive the holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose sins ye retain, they are retained." Gildas the Briton goes further, affirming that "[q] to the true minister it is said; thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church." That "[r] to Peter and his successors our Lord says; and unto thee will I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven." And consequently, that "[s] unto every holy Minister it is promised: Whatever thou shalt bind on earth, it shall be bound likewise in Heaven; and whatever thou shalt loose on earth it shall be loosed likewise in Heaven." Whence he pronounces of the good Ministers of Britain; that they "[t] lawfully obtain the Apostolical state," and "[u] lawfully sit in the chair of St. Paul: and on the contrary, of the bad, that "[v] with unclean feet they usurp the seat of the Apostle Peter, but by the demerit of their covetousness fall into the pestilent chair of the traitor Judas;" and so they who ordain such, place after a sort, *Judas* the betrayer of our Lord, in the seat of *Peter*.

Lastly, as Claudius [w] the foundation of the Church was laid not only upon St. Peter, but also upon St. John; so in a certain Hymn supposed to be written by Secundinus (known in this country commonly by the name of St. Seachlin) in the year of our Lord 448, St. Patrick also is thus commended:

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"[x] he is constant in the fear of God, and immoveable in the faith, upon whom the Church is builded as upon St. Peter; whose Apostleship also he has obtained from God, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against him." Yea, [y] Christ is there said to have chosen him for his Vicar upon earth. His See likewise of Armagh, is by one Calvus Perennis, in the days of Brian, King of Ireland, (who was slain, as appears by [z] Marianus in the year 1014,) termed [a] the city Apostolick. So Desiderius, Bishop of Cahors, in France, is by our countryman Gallus, saluted both [b] PAPA and APOSTOLICUS; and the Bishop of Kildare, in Ireland, honoured by Cogitosus, with the stile of the [c] HIGHEST PRIEST and the [d] HIGHEST BISHOP. Those titles and prerogatives, which the Pope now peculiarly challenges to himself, as ensigns of his monarchy, being heretofore usually communicated unto other Bishops, when the Universal Church was governed by the way of Aristocracy.

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CHAP. VIII.

Of the Popes spiritual Jurisdiction; and how little footing it had gotten at first within these parts.

MASTER Campion informs us; that "[a] when Ireland first received Christendom, they gave themselves into the jurisdiction both spiritual and temporal of the See of Rome." But herein he speaks without book; of the spiritual jurisdiction untruly, of the temporal absurdly. For from the first legation of Palladius and Patricius, who were sent to plant the faith in this Country, it cannot be shewed out of any monument of antiquity, that the Bishop of Rome, ever sent any of his Legates, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction here (much less any of his deputies to exercise jurisdiction temporal) before Gillebertus, who was the first Legate appointed by the Apostolic See over all Ireland, says one that lived in his own time, even Bernard himself in the life of Malachias. One or two instances peradventure may be alledged out of some obscure authors, whose names and times, and authority, no man can tell us news of: but unless that which is delivered by Bernard, as the tradition that was current in his time, can be controlled by some record, that may appear to have been written before his days; we have small reason to detract any thing from the credit of so clear a testimony.

This Country was heretofore, from the number of holy men who lived in it, termed the ISLAND OF

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SAINTS. Of that innumerable company of Saints, whose memory was reverenced here, what one received any solemn Canonization from the Pope, before Malachias, Archbishop of Armagh, and Laurence of Dublin, who lived, as it were, but the other day? We read of sundry Archbishops who have been in this land between the days of St. Patrick and of Malachias, what one of them can be named, who ever sought for a Pall from Rome? Joceline indeed a late Monk, of the Abbey of Furness, writes of St. Patrick, that the Bishop of Rome [b] conferred the Pall on him, as also the execution of legatine power in his room. But he is well known to be a most fabulous author: and for this particular, Bernard (who was his ancient) informs us far otherwise; that "[c] from the beginning unto this time, the metropolitan See of Armagh, wanted the use of the Pall." With whom the author of the annals of Mailros fully accords, noting that "[d] in the year 1151, Pope Eugenius, (the same to whom Bernard wrote his book *de consideratione*,) by his Legate, John Papiron, transmitted four Palls into Ireland, whither a Pall before had never been brought." And therefore Giraldus Cambrensis, although he acknowledges that St. Patrick "[e] chose Armagh for his seat, and appointed it to be as it were a metropolitan See, and the proper place of the primacy of all Ireland;" yet he affirms withal, that in very deed "[f] there were no Archbishops in Ireland, but that Bishops only consecrated one another, until Johannes

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Papirio (or Paparo) the Pope's Legate not long since brought four Palls thither." Whereupon some of our Chroniclers after him remark concerning Gelasius, who was at that time Archbishop of Armagh; that "[g] he is said to have been the first Archbishop, because he used the first Pall; and that others before him were called Archbishops and Primate in name only, in reverence and honour of St. Patrick, as the Apostle of that nation."

And indeed it might seem, that the complaint made by Anselm in his letters to Muriardach King of Ireland, that [h] *Bishops here were consecrated by Bishops alone* might somewhat justify the truth of Giraldus's relation; if we did not find a further complaint there also, that they were often "[i] ordained by one Bishop only." But as this latter complaint argues, not the want of a competent number of Bishops in the land (or, as we shall hear presently, they had more than a sufficient number of such) but a neglect of the observance of the Canon provided by the Nicene Fathers in that behalf: so it cannot be justly inferred out of the former, that we had no Archbishops here at that time, but that the Bishops rather failed much in the Canonical respect, which they ought to shew unto their metropolitan. For that the Irish had their Archbishops (besides many other pregnant testimonies that might be produced) Pope Hildebrand's own brief sufficiently manifests; which is directed [k] to *Terdeluachus (or Tirlagh) the illustrious King of Ireland, the* Archbishops, *Bishops,*

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Abbots, Nobles, and Christians inhabiting Ireland. And for the Archbishops of Armagh in particular, it appears most evidently from Bernard's life of Malachias, that they were so far from being Metropolitans and Primates in name only, that they exercised much greater authority, before they were put to the expence of procuring Palls from Rome, than ever they did afterwards: and that they not only consecrated Bishops, but erected also new Bishopricks, and Archbishopricks too sometimes, according as they thought fitting.

We read in Nennius, that at the beginning St. Patrick "founded here *three hundred and sixty-five* Churches, and ordained *three hundred and sixty-five* Bishops, besides *three thousand* Presbyters. In process of time the number of Bishops was daily "[m] multiplied according to the pleasure of the Metropolitan, (whereof Bernard much complains,) and that, not only so far that every Church almost had a separate Bishop:" but also that in some "[n] towns or cities there were ordained more than one;" yea, and oftentimes "[o] Bishops were made without having any certain Bishoprick assigned to them." And as for erecting new Archbishopricks, if we believe our Legends, "[p] King Engus and St. Patrick, with all the people, ordained the City and See of Albeus (which is Emelye, now annexed to Cashel,) should be the Bishoprick of the whole Province of Munster." In like manner also, "[q] Brandubh, King of the Leganians, with the consent as well of the Laity as of the Clergy, appointed that the city of Fernes (which was the

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See of Moedog, otherwise called Edanus) should be the Archbishoprick of all the Province of Leinster." But Bernard's testimony, we have no reason not to believe, relating what was known to be done in his own very time: that "[r] Celsus, the Archbishop of Armagh, had constituted another Metropolitical See; subject to the first See, and the Archbishop thereof." By which we may see that in the erection of new Archbishopricks and Bishopricks, all things were done at home, without consulting with the See of Rome for the matter.

As for the nomination and confirmation of the Archbishops and Bishops themselves: we find the manner of advancing St. Livinus, to his Archbishoprick, thus laid down by Boniface, in the description of his life. "[s] When Menalchus the Archbishop was dead, Calomagnus the King of Scots, and the troop of his officers, with the under courtiers and the concourse of all that country, with the same affection of heart cryed out, that the holy Priest Livinus was most worthily to be advanced to the honour of this Order. The King (more devout than all of them) consented, and three or four times placed the blessed man in the chair of the Archbishoprick with due honour, according to the will of the Lord." In like manner also [t] King Ecgfrid caused our Cuthbert, to be ordained Bishop of the Church of Lindisfarne; and King Pipin, [u] granted the Bishoprick of Salzburg to our Virgilius: and Duke Gunzo would have [x] conferred the Bishoprick of Constance upon our Gallus, had not

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he refused it, and [y] caused another upon his recommendation to be preferred thereunto.

In the book of Landaffe, which is called Tilo (either from Teliau the second Bishop of that place, whose life is largely there described; or rather from the place itself, which of old was called * Teilo) we read that Germanus and Lupus, [z] did consecrate chief doctor over all the Britons, inhabiting the right side of Britanny, St. Dubricius, being chosen Archbishop by the King and all the diocess: and that by the grant of Mouric the King, the Nobility, Clergy, and People, they appointed his Episcopal See to be at Landaff. That [a] Oudoceus, the third Bishop after him, being elected by King Mouric, and the chief of the Clergy and Laity of the whole diocess, was by them sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his consecration. That [b] Gucaunus (the 26th Bishop of that Church) was consecrated by Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury; the pastoral staff being given him in the Court of Edgar, chief King of the English. That next after him, [c] in the year 983, election being made by the Kings and the whole Clergy, and the people of Glanmorgan, and the pastoral staff given in the Court by Ethelred, chief King of the English, Bledri was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who is there named Albricus, (though in truth, at the year here assigned, Dunstan still held the place) and after his decease, in the year 1022, [d] by the election of the people and Clergy of Landaff, and the Kings of the Britons, (King Riderch reigned at that

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time through all Wales, and Hivel, the Viceroy of the King of Glanmorgan,) Joseph was consecrated Bishop by Ælnod, Archbishop of Canterbury, by command of Cenute, King of England, in whose Court the pastoral staff was given to him.

Here in Ireland much after the same manner, Mr. Campion himself setteth down, that "[f] to the monarch was granted a negative in the nomination of Bishops at every vacation: the Clergy and Laity of the Diocess recommending him to their King, the King to the Monarch, the Monarch to the Archbishop of Canterbury." Although this last clause is wrongly extended by him to the Bishops of the whole land, which properly belonged to the Ostmann strangers, who possessed [g] the three cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. For these being a Colony of the Norwegians and Livonians, and so countrymen to the Normans, when they had seen England subdued by the conqueror, and Normans advanced to the chief Archbishoprick there, would needs now assume to themselves the name of [h] Normans also, and cause their Bishops to receive their consecration, from no other Metropolitan but the Archbishop of Canterbury. And forasmuch as they were confined within the walls of their own cities, the Bishops, which they made had no other Diocess to exercise their jurisdiction in, but only the bare circuit of those cities. Whereupon we find a certificate made to Pope Innocent the Third, in the year 1216, by the Archbishop of Tuam, and his suffragans, that "[i] John Papiron,

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the Legate of the Church of Rome, coming into Ireland, found that Dublin indeed had a Bishop, but such an one as did exercise his episcopal office within the walls only."

The first Bishop which they had in Dublin, (as it appears by the records of that Church,) was one Donatus, or Dunanus, as others call him: upon whose death, in the year 1074, [k] Gothric their King, with the consent of the Clergy and people of Dublin, chose one Patrick for their Bishop, and directed him to England, to be consecrated by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, who sent him back with commendatory [l] letters, as well to the said Gothric, King of the Ostmans, as to Terdeluacus, the chief King or Monarch of the Irish. Hereupon, after the decease of this Patrick, [m] in the year 1085, the same Terdeluacus and the Bishops of Ireland joined with the Clergy, and the people of Dublin, in the election of Donatus, one of Lanfranc's own Monks in Canterbury, who was also consecrated there by him. Then when he died, in the year 1095, his nephew Samuel, a Monk of St. Albans, but who was born in Ireland, was [n] chosen Bishop in his room by Murierdach, King of Ireland, and the Clergy and people of the city; by whose common decree he was also sent to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, for his consecration. Not long after, the Waterfordians, following the example of the Dublinians, erected a Bishoprick among themselves, [o] and sent their new Bishop to Canterbury for his consecration. The manner of whose election, the Clergy and

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people of Waterford, in the letters, which they wrote at that time to Anselme, do thus intimate: "I we and our King Murchertach, and Dofnald the Bishop, and Dermeth our Captain, the King's brother, have made choice of this Priest Malchus, a Monk of Walkeline, Bishop of Winchester. The same man, without doubt, who was afterwards promoted to the Bishoprick of Lismore; so much commended by Bernard in the life of Malachias. The last Bishop of Dublin, in the year 1123, was sent to Anselm's next successor for his consecration: touching which I have seen this writ of King Henry the first directed to him:

"Henry King of England, to Ralph, Archbishop "of Canterbury, greeting. The King of Ireland "hath intimated unto me by his writ, and the "Burgesses of Dublin, that they have chosen this "Gregory for their Bishop, and send him unto you "to be consecrated. Wherefore I wish you, that "satisfying their request, you perform his conse-"cration without delay. Witness Ranulph, our "Chancellor at Windsor."

All the Burgesses of Dublin likewise, and the whole assembly of the Clergy, directed their joint letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury the same time; wherein among other things they write thus: "I know you for verity, that the Bishops of Ireland have great indignation toward us, and that Bishop most of all who dwells at Armagh: because we will not obey their ordination, but will always be under your Government." Whereby we may

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see, that as the Ostmans were desirous to sever themselves from the Irish, and to be esteemed Normans: so the Irish Bishops on the other side, however they digested in some sort the recourse which they had to Lanfranc and Anselme (who were two of the most famous men in their times, and with whom they themselves were desirous to hold all good correspondence) yet could they not well brook this continuation of their dependance upon a metropolitan of another kingdom; which they conceived to be somewhat derogatory to the dignity of their own Primate. But this jealousy did not continue long: for this same Gregory being afterwards made Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishopricks here settled by Johannes Paparo; as well they of Dublin, as the others of Waterford and Limerick, (also at which place they had one Patrick, consecrated Bishop over them by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury,) ever after that time ceased to have relation with the See of Canterbury.

And now to go forward: as the Kings and people of this land in those elder times, kept the nomination of their Archbishops and Bishops in their own hands, and depended not upon the Pope's provisions that way: so we do not find by any approved record of antiquity, that any visitations of the Clergy were held in the Pope's name; much less that any indulgences were sought for by our people at his hands. For, as the "r Charter of St. Patrick," (by some entitled, *de antiquitate*

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Avalonica), wherein Phaganus and Deruvianus, are said to have purchased ten or thirty years of indulgence from Pope Eleutherius; and St. Patrick himself to have procured twelve years in his time from Pope Celestinus: it might easily be demonstrated (if this were a place for it) that it is a mere figment, devised by the Monks of Glastenbury. Neither do I well know, what credit is to be given to that stragling sentence, which I find ascribed to the same author. "'If any questions arise in this Island, let them be referred to the See Apostolic." Or that other decree, attributed to Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus and Benignus. "'Whenever any cause that is very difficult, and unknown to all the Judges of the Scotish nations, shall arise; it is rightly to be referred to the See of the Archbishop of the Irish (to wit Patrick,) and to the examination of the Prelate thereof." But if *there*, by him and his wise men, a cause of this nature cannot easily be made up: we have decreed, it shall be sent to the See Apostolic; that is to say, to the chair of the Apostle Peter, which has the authority of the city of Rome." This only I will say, that as it is most likely, that St. Patrick had a special regard to the Church of Rome, from whence he was sent for the conversion of this Island: so if I myself had lived in his days, for the resolution, of a doubtful question I should as willingly have listened to the judgment of the Church of Rome, as to the determination of any Church in the whole world; so reverend an estimation have I of the integrity of that Church, as

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it stood in those days. But that St. Patrick was of opinion, that the Church of Rome was sure ever afterward to continue in that good estate, and that there was a perpetual privilege annexed to that See, that it should never err in judgment, or that the Pope's sentences were always to be held as infallible oracles; that will I never believe: sure I am, that my countrymen after him were of a far different belief; who were so far from submitting themselves in this sort; to whatever should proceed from the See of Rome, that they oftentimes stood out against it, when they had little cause to do so. For proof whereof I need to seek no further, than to those very allegations, which have been lately urged, for maintenance of the supremacy of the Pope and Church of Rome in this country.

First, Mr. Coppinger comes upon us, with this wise question. "* Was not Ireland among other countries absolved from the Pelagian Heresy by the Church of Rome, as Cæsar Baronius writes?" then he setteth down the copy of St. Gregory's † Epistle, in answer to the Irish Bishops that submitted themselves to him. And concludes, that "the Bishops of Ireland being infected with the Pelagian error, sought absolution first of Pelagius the Pope: but the same was not effectually done, until St. Gregory did it." But in all this he doth nothing else but betray his own ignorance. For neither can he shew it in Cæsar Baronius; nor in any other author whatever, that the Irish Bishops ever sought absolu-

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tion from Pope Pelagius; or that the one had to deal in any business at all with the other. Neither yet can he shew that ever they had to do with St. Gregory, in any matter that concerned the Pelagian Heresy. For these are dreams of Coppinger's own idle head. The Epistle of St. Gregory, relates only to the controversy of the three chapters, which were condemned by the fifth general council; whereof Baronius writes thus: "[z] All the Bishops that were in Ireland, with most earnest zeal, rose up jointly for the defence of the three Chapters. And when they perceived that the Church of Rome both received the condemnation of the three Chapters, and strengthened the fifth Synod with her consent; they departed from her, and clave to the rest of the schismaticks, that were either in Italy, or in Africa, or in other countries; animated with that vain confidence, that they contended for the Catholic Faith, while they defended those things that were concluded in the Council of Chalcedon." "[a] And so much the more fixedly (says he) they cleaved to their error, because whatever Italy suffered by commotions of war, by famine, or pestilence, all these unhappy things they thought therefore befel it, because it had undertaken to fight for the fifth Synod against the Council of Chalcedon."

Thus far Baronius; out of whose narration this may be collected, that the Bishops of Ireland did not take all the resolutions of the Church of Rome for undoubted oracles; but when they thought that they had better reason on their side, they

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preferred the judgment of other Churches before it. Wherein how peremptory they were, when they wrote to St. Gregory of the matter; may easily be perceived by these passages of the answer, which he returned to their letters. "[b] The commencement of your Epistle has notified, that you suffer a grievous persecution: which persecution indeed, when it is not sustained for a reasonable cause, profits nothing to salvation." And "[c] therefore it is very unfit, that you should glory of that persecution, as you call it, by which it is certain you cannot be promoted to everlasting rewards." "[d] And whereas you write, that since that time among other provinces, Italy has been most afflicted; you ought not to object that unto it as a reproach: because it is written: whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son that he receiveth." Then having spoken of the book that Pope Pelagius wrote of this controversy (which indeed was penned by Gregory himself) he adds; "[e] If after the reading of this book, you will persist in your present deliberation; you doubtless evidence that you are not ruled by reason, but that you are guided by obstinacy." By all which you may see, what credit is to be given to the man, who could assert that this epistle of St. Gregory was sent as an answer to the Bishops of Ireland, who submitted themselves to him: whereas (to say nothing of the [f] copies wherein this epistle is said to have been written to the Bishops of Iberia, or Spain, and not Hibernia, or Ireland,) the least argument of any submission appears not in any

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part of that epistle; but the whole course of it clearly manifests the flat contrary.

In the next place steps forth Osullevan Beare; who in his Catholic History of Ireland, would have us acknowledge this, that "[g] when the Irish Doctors did not agree together upon great questions of faith, or heard of any new doctrine brought from abroad, they were wont to consult with the Bishop of Rome, the oracle of truth." That they consulted with the Bishop of Rome, when difficult questions arose, we easily grant: but that they thought they were bound in conscience to abide by his judgment, whatever it should be, and to entertain all his resolutions as certain *oracles of truth*; is the point that we would fain see proved. For this he indeed tells us, that "[h] when questions and disputations arose here concerning the time of Easter and the Pelagian Heresy, the Doctors of Ireland referred the matter to the See Apostolic. Whereupon the error of Pelagius is reported to have found no patron or maintainer in Ireland: and the common course of celebrating Easter was embraced both by the northern Irish, and by the Picts and Britons, as soon as they understood the rite of the Roman Church. Which (says he) doth not obscurely appear by the two heads of the Apostolic letters, related by Bede."*

But that those Apostolic letters (as he calls them) had that success which he talks of, appears neither plainly nor obscurely by Bede, or any other authority whatever. The error of Pelagius, says he,

* Lib. 2. cap. 19.

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is reported to have found no patron or maintainer in Ireland. But who is the reporter of this fact besides Philip Osullevan? a worthy author indeed on whom to ground a report of antiquity: who in relating the occurrences of his own time, discovers himself to be as egregious a liar as any (I verily think) that this day breathes in Christendom. The Apostolic letters he speaks of, were written (as before has been remarked) in the year of our Lord 639, during the vacancy of the Roman See, upon the death of Severinus. Our countryman Kilianus repaired to Rome forty-seven years after that, and was ordained Bishop there by Pope Conon in the year 686. The reason of his going there is thus laid down by Egilwardus, or whoever else was the author of his life. "For Ireland had been of old defiled with the Pelagian Heresy, and condemned by the Apostolical censure, which could not be removed but by the Roman judgment." If this be true, then that is false which Osullevan reports of the effect of his Apostolical Epistle, that it presently quashed the Pelagian Heresy, so as that it durst not once peep up again within this Island.

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CHAP. IX.

Of the Controversy which the Britons, Picts, and Irish, maintained against the Church of Rome, touching the celebration of Easter.

THE difference between the Romans and the Irish in the celebration of Easter, consisted in this. The Romans kept the memorial of our Lord's Resurrection upon that Sunday, which fell between the fifteenth and the twenty-first day of the Moon (both terms included) next after the twenty-first day of March; which they accounted to be the time of the *vernal æquinox*, that is to say, that time of the Spring wherein the day and the night are of an equal length. And in reckoning the age of the moon they followed the Alexandrian Cycle of nineteen years, (whence our golden number had its original) as it was explained to them by Dionisius Exigus: which is the account that is still observed, not only in the Church of England, but also among all the Christians of Greece, Russia, Asia, Egypt, Æthiopia; and was (since the time that I myself was born) generally received in all Christendom, until the late change of the Calendar was made by Pope Gregory the 13th. The northern Irish and Scotish, together with the Picts observed the custom of the Britons: [a] keeping their Easter upon the Sunday that fell between the 14th and the 20th day of the Moon; and following in their account thereof, not the nineteen years

computation of Anatolius, [b] but Sculpicius Severus his circle of forty-eight years. For however they extolled Anatolius [c] for appointing (as they supposed) the bounds of Easter between the fourteenth and twentieth day of the Moon; yet Wilfrid in the Synod of Strenshal charges them utterly to have rejected his cycle of nineteen years; from which therefore Cummianus draws an argument against them; that [cc d] they can never come to the true account of Easter, who observe the cycle of eighty-four years."

To reduce the Irish to conformity with the Church of Rome in this point, Pope Honorius (the first of that name) directed his letters to them: "exhorting them, that they would not esteem their own paucity, seated in the utmost borders of the earth, more wise than the ancient or modern Churches of Christ through the whole world; and that they would not celebrate another Easter contrary to the Paschal computations, and the Synodal decrees of the Bishops of the whole world." And shortly after the Clergy of Rome (as we have said) upon the death of Severinus, wrote other letters unto them to the same effect. Now where Ossullevan avouches that "the common custom used by the Church, in celebrating the feast of the Lord's resurrection, was always observed by the southern Irish; and now embraced also by the northern, together with the Picts and Britons (who received the faith from Irish Doctors) when they were instructed in the rites of the Church of Rome:" in all this (according to his common custom,) he

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speaketh never a true word. For neither did the southern Irish, the Picts, nor the Britons, many years after this admonition given by the Church of Rome, admit that observation among them. To speak nothing of his folly in saying, that the Britons received the faith from the Irish: when the contrary is so well known, that the Irish rather received the same from the Britons.*

That the common custom of celebrating the time of Easter was not always observed by the southern Irish, may appear by those words of Bede, in the third book of his history, and the third chapter: "the nations of the Scots, who dwelt in the southern parts of Ireland, learned to observe Easter after the canonical manner, upon the admonition of the Bishop of Rome;" from whence it is evident, that before that admonition they did observe it after another manner. The Latin word *jamdudum*, which Bede here uses, is taken among authors oftentimes in contrary senses: either to signify a great while since, or else, but lately, or erewhile. In the former sense it must be here taken, if it have relation to the time wherein Bede wrote his book: and in the latter also it may be taken, if it be referred to the time whereof he treats, (which is the more likely opinion) namely to the coming of Bishop Aidan into England; which happened about half a year after Honorius had sent his admonitory letters to the Irish. Who, as he was the first Bishop of Rome we can read of, that admonished them to reform their rite of keeping

* St. Patrick and his followers.

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the time of Easter: so that the Irish also, much about the same time, conformed themselves herein to the Roman usage, may thus be manifested.

When Bishop Aidan came into England from the island Hy, now called Y-Colum-kille; [f] the College of Monks there was governed by Segenius, who in the [g] inscription of the epistle of the Clergy of Rome sent unto the Irish, is called Segianus. Now there is yet extant in Sir Robert Cotton's worthy library, an epistle of Cummianus directed to this Segenius (for so is his name there written) Abbot of Y-Colum-kille: wherein he plainly declares that the great cycle of 532 years, and the Roman use of celebrating the time of Easter according to the same, was then newly brought in into this country. "[h] For the first year (says he) wherein the cycle of 532 years began to be observed by our men; I received it not, but held my peace, daring neither to commend it, nor to dispraise it." That year being past, he says he consulted with his ancients; who were the successors of Bishop Ailbeus, Queranus Coloniensis, Brendinus, Necessanus and Lugidus. Who being gathered together in *Campo-lene*, concluded to celebrate Easter the year following, together with the Universal Church. "[i] But not long after (says he) there arose up a certain whited wall, pretending to keep the tradition of the Elders; which did not make both one, but divided them, and made void in part that which was promised:

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whom the Lord (as I hope) will smite, in whatever manner he pleases."

To this argument drawn from the tradition of the Elders, he answers: that "[k] they did simply and faithfully observe that which they knew to be the best in their days, without the fault of any contradiction or animosity, and did so recommend it to their posterity." And he opposes thereunto "[n] the unanimous rule of the Universal Catholic Church:" deeming this to be a very harsh conclusion. [o] Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antioch errs, the whole world errs: the Scottish only and the Britons are right. But especially he urges the authority of the first of these Patriarchal Sees, which now (since the advancement thereof by the Emperor Phocas*) began to be admired by the inhabitants of the earth, as "the place which God had chosen; where, if greater causes arose, recourse was to be had, according to the Synodical decree, as unto the head of cities." And therefore he says, that they sent some to Rome; who returning back in the third year, informed them, that they met with a Grecian, and an Hebrew, and a Scythian, and an Egyptian in one lodging; and that they all, and the whole world too, observed their Easter at the same time, when the Irish were

* In the year 606, Phocas the usurper of the Constantinopolitan throne, constituted the Bishop of Rome *Universal Bishop and supreme head of the Church*, and declared also, that in spirituals all other Churches were subject to him. Before which period, so far were any who filled that See, from assuming such vain titles, that Gregory the first, the immediate predecessor of Boniface the third, on whom they were first conferred, asserted that whoever afterward would arrogate such distinctions to himself was Antichrist.

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disjoined from them by the space of a whole month.* "p And we have proved (says Cummianus) that the virtue of God was in the relicks of the holy Martyrs, and the Scriptures which they brought with them. For we saw with our eyes, a maid altogether blind opening her eyes at these relicks, a man sick of the palsy walking, and many devils cast out."

The northern Irish and Albanian Scotish on the other side, made little reckoning of the authority, either of the Bishop or of the Church of Rome. And therefore Bede, speaking of Oswy, King of Northumberland, says that "q notwithstanding he was brought up by the Scotish, yet he understood the Roman was the Catholic and Apostolick Church (or, that the Roman Church was Catholic and Apostolick,) intimating thereby, that the Scotish, among whom he received his education, were of another mind. And long before that, Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus (who were sent into England by Pope Gregory to assist Austin,) in a letter which they sent to the Scots who inhabited Ireland, (so Bede writes) complained of the distaste given them by their countrymen, in this manner: "r We knew the Britons, we thought that the Scots were better than they. But we learned by Bishop Daganus coming into this Island, and Abbot Columbanus coming into France, that the Scots differed nothing from the Britons in their conversation. For Daganus

* This seems to refer either to the year 684 or 645, at which periods Easter was solemnized at Rome the twenty-fourth day of April, and it appears by our Annals that Segianus was Abbot of Y-Columkille from the year 624 until 652.

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the Bishop coming to us, would not eat with us, no not so much as in the same lodging in which we dieted."

And as for miracles, we find them as rife among them who were opposite to the Roman tradition, as upon the other side. If you doubt this, read what Adamnanus has recorded of the life of St. Colme, or Columkill, and what Bede has written of Bishop Aidan, "[s] who was a man he observes, of such extraordinary excellence and virtue, that the inward judge even made it manifest by the performance of outward miracles." Whereupon Bishop Colman in the Synod at Strenshal deduced this conclusion: "[t] is it to be believed, that Colme our most reverend father, and his successors, men beloved of God, who observed Easter in the same manner we do, held or did what was contrary to the holy Scriptures? to whose heavenly holiness ample testimony is afforded, by signs and miracles which many among them performed, whom not doubting to be Saints, I never desist to follow their life, manners, and discipline as my exemplar." What Wilfrid replied to this, may be seen in Bede: that which I much wonder at, among the many wonderful things related of St. Colme by Adamnanus, is this, that where he says this Saint, during the time of his abode in the Abbey of Clone (now called the Clonmacnosh) "[u] by the revelation of the holy Ghost, prophesied of that discord, which after many days arose among the Churches of Scotland (or Ireland) for the diversity of the feast of Easter;"

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yet he tells us not, that the holy Ghost revealed to him, that he himself (whose example animated his followers to stand more stifly herein against the Roman rite) was in the wrong, and ought to conform his judgment to the tradition of the Churches abroad; as if the holy Ghost did not much care which side should carry the matter away in this controversy; for which (if you please) you shall hear a very pretty tale out of an old Legend, concerning this same discord, whereof St. Colme is said to have prophesied.

"[x] Upon a certain time (says St. Munna in the life of this Abbot) there was a great council of the people of Ireland in the White-field; among whom there was contention about the order of Easter." For Lasreanus, "the Abbot of the Monastery of Leighlin, to whom were subject a thousand and five hundred Monks, defended the new order that lately came from Rome; but others defended the old." This Lasreanus or Lazerianus is the man, who in other legends, (of no other credit than this we now have in hand,) is reported to have been the Bishop of Rome's legate in Ireland, and is commonly accounted to have been the first Bishop of the Church of Leighlin. His principal antagonist at this meeting was one Munna, founder of the Monastery which from him was called Teach-munna, that is, the house of Munna, in the Bishoprick of Meath; who would needs bring this question to the same kind of trial here, that Austin the Monk is said to have done in England. In defence of the Roman order, Bede

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tells us that Austin made this motion to the British Bishops, for a final conclusion of the business. "[y] Let us beseech God, who maketh men to dwell of one mind together in their father's house; that he will vouchsafe by some heavenly signs to make known to us, what tradition is to be followed, and by what way we may hasten to the entry of his kingdom. Let some sick man be brought hither; and by whose prayers he shall be cured, let his faith and working be regarded as acceptable to God, and let him be followed by all men."

Now Munna, who stood in defence of the order formerly used by the British and Irish, makes a more liberal proffer of the same kind, and leaves Lasreanus to his choice, "[z] Let us dispute briefly, (says he,) but in the name of God let us give judgment. Three things are given to thy choice, Lasreanus. Two books shall be cast into the fire, a book of the old order and of the new; that we may see which of them shall be freed from the fire. Or let two Monks, one of mine and another of thine, be shut up into one house; and let the house be burnt, and we shall see which of them will escape untouched from the fire. Or let us go unto the grave of a just Monk that is dead and raise him up again: and let him tell us, after what order we ought to celebrate Easter this year." But Lasreanus being wiser than this, refused to put so great a matter to that hazard: and therefore returned this grave answer to Munna; if all be true that is in the legend, "[a] we will not resort to

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thy judgment; because we know that, for the greatness of thy labour and holiness, if thou shouldest bid that mount Marge should be changed into the place of the White-field, and the White-field into the place of Mount Marge; God would presently do this for thy sake." So prodigal do some make God to be of miracles, and in a manner careless how they should occur; as if in the dispensing of them, he had respect to the gracing of persons rather than of causes

In what year this Council of the White-field was held, is not certainly known: nor yet whether St. Munna be that whited wall, of whom we heard Cummianus complain. The Synod of Strenshal (before mentioned) was assembled long after, at Whitby, (called by the Saxons Streansheal,) in Yorkshire, the [b] year of our Lord 664. For the decision of the same question. Concerning which, in the life of Wilfrid (written by one Ædi an acquaintance of his surnamed Stephen; at the commandment of Acca, who in the time of Bede was Bishop of Hangustald or Hexam, in Northumberland) we read thus: "[c] Upon a certain time in the days of Colman, Metropolitan Bishop of the City of York, Oswi, and Alhfrid his son being Kings; the Abbots and Priests and all the degrees of ecclesiastical orders meeting together, at the Monastery which is called Streansheal, in the presence of Hilde the most godly mother of that Abbey, in presence also of the Kings and the two Bishops

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Colman and Ægelberht, inquiry was made respecting the observation of Easter, what manner was right, the custom of the Britons and the Scots, and all the Northern part who kept it upon the Lord's day, which happens between the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the Moon, or whether it was better, that Easter Sunday should be celebrated from the fifteenth day of the Moon until the twenty-first, after the manner of the See Apostolic. Time was given to Bishop Colman in the first place, as was proper to deliver his sentiments in the audience of all. Who with an undaunted mind made answer, and said; our holy fathers and their predecessors, who were manifestly inspired by the Holy Ghost, as Columkille was, ordained that Easter should be celebrated upon the Lord's day that fell upon the fourteenth Moon; following the example of John the Apostle and Evangelist, who leaned upon the breast of our Lord at his last Supper, and was called the lover of the Lord. He celebrated Easter upon the fourteenth day of the Moon; and we with the same confidence celebrated the same, as his disciples Polycarpus and others did; neither dare we for our parts, nor will we change this custom."

Bede relates his speech thus: "[d] this Easter which I am accustomed to observe, I received from my Elder, who sent me Bishop hither; which all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated after the same manner. Which that it may not seem to any to be contemned and rejected: it is the same which the blessed Evangelist John, the disciple specially beloved by our

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Lord, with all the Churches over which he presided, is read to have celebrated." Fridegodus (who wrote the life of Wilfrid at the command of Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury) expresses the same in verse after this mannner:

[e] As once the paschal time, our fathers kept,
We still the feast observe, now they have slept;
Nor tales, nor lying legends shall induce
Us credulous to change the ancient use,
Which Polycarp by blessed John was taught,
That when, the fourteenth day the moon had brought,
We then should solemnize the holy time,
Or else be guilty of the foulest crime.

On the contrary side Wilfrid objected to Colman and his clerks of Ireland; that they with their complices, the Picts and the Britons, "[f] out of the two utmost Isles of the ocean, and not even all of them, with a foolish labour fought against the whole world." "[g] And if that Columb of yours (says he) yea and ours also if he were Christ's, was holy and powerful in virtues: could he be preferred before the most blessed Prince of the Apostles? to whom the Lord said: thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven." Which last words wrought much the upon simplicity of King Oswy; who feared, that "[h] when he should come to the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven, there would be none to open, if he were displeased who was proved to keep the keys:" but prevailed nothing with Bishop Colman; who "[i] for the fear

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of his country (as Stephen in the life of Wilfrid writes,) contemned the tonsure and the observation of Easter used by the Romans; and "[k] taking with him such as would follow him, that is to say, such as would not receive the Catholic Easter, and the tonsure of the Crown (for of that also there was then no small question) returned back again into Scotland."

CHAP. X.

Of the height that the opposition between the Roman party and that of the British and Scotish grew unto; and the abatement thereof in time: and how the Doctors of the Scotish and Irish side, have been ever accounted most eminent men in the Catholic Church, notwithstanding their disunion from the Bishop of Rome.

IN Colman's room Wilfrid was chosen Archbishop of York; who had learned at Rome from Archdeacon Boniface, "[a] the course of Easter, which the schismatics of Britain and Ireland did not know" (so go the words of Stephen, the ancient writer of his life:) and afterwards did brag, "[b] that he was the first who taught the true Easter in Northumberland (having ejected the Scots) who ordained the ecclesiactical songs to be parted onsides, and who commanded St, Benet's rule to be observed by Monks." But when he was named to the Arch-

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bishoprick, [c] he refused it at first (as William of Malmesbury relates,) "lest he should receive his consecration from the Scotish Bishops, or from such as the Scots had ordained, whose communion the Apostolic See had rejected." The speech which he used to this purpose, to the Kings who had chosen him, is thus recorded by Stephen the writer of his life. "[d] O my honourable Lords the Kings; it is necessary for us by all means providently to consider, how with your election I may (by the help of God) come to the degree of a Bishop, without the accusation of the Catholic men. For there are many Bishops here in Britain, none of whom it is my part to accuse, ordained within these fourteen years by the Britons and Scots, whom neither the See Apostolic has received into her communion, nor yet such as agree with the schismatics. And therefore, with all humility I request of you, that you would send me with your warrant beyond the sea, into the country of France, where many Catholic Bishops reside; that without any controversy of the Apostolic See, I may be counted meet, though unworthy, to receive the degree of a Bishop."

While [e] Wilfrid protracted time beyond the seas, King Oswy led by the advice of the Quartadecimans (so they injuriously nick-named the British and Irish, who celebrated Easter from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the moon,) appointed "[f] a most religious servant of God, and an admirable Doctor who came from Ireland, named Ceadda, to be ordained Bishop of York in his room."

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The following verses, translated from those of Fridegodus, accord with William of Malmsbury, in relating the occurrence of the same circumstance :

[g] On Oswy, Colman's friends prevail, and he
Inconstant, gives the holy Wilfrid's See,
To one of Aidan's school, in whom appear
Faith uncorrupt, pure morals, holy fear;
His name Ceadda ; thus the Prelate's throne,
A stranger fills, its old possessor gone :
As were a bride if led to Hymen's fane,
While her first spouse delays beyond the main—

This Ceadda, being the scholar of Bishop Aidan, was far otherwise affected toward the British and Irish than Wilfrid was: and therefore was content to receive his ordination from [h] Wini, Bishop of the West-Saxons, and two other British Bishops that were of the Quartadeciman party. For at that time (as Bede remarks) there was not in all Britain any Bishop canonically ordained (that is to say, by such as were of the communion of the Church of Rome,) except Wini.

But shortly after, the opposition between these two sides grew so great, that our Cuthbert (Bishop of Lindisfarne) upon his death-bed required his followers that they should "hold no Communion with them who swerved from the unity of the Catholic peace, either by not celebrating Easter in due time, or by living perversely;" and that they should rather take up his bones and remove their place of habitation, than condescend to "submit

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their necks to the yoke of Schismatics." For the further maintaining of which breach also, certain decrees were made both by the Romans, and by the Saxons who were guided by their institution. One of the instructions that the Romans gave them, was this: "'You must beware, that causes are not referred to other Provinces or Churches, which use another manner and another religion: whether to the Jews, which serve the shadow of the law rather than the truth; or to the Britons, who are contrary to all men, and have cut themselves off from the Roman manner, and the unity of the Church; or to heretics, although they should be learned in ecclesiastical causes, and well studied." And among the decrees made by some of the Saxon Bishops (which were in the library of Sir Thomas Knevet in Norfolk, and are still, I suppose, preserved there by his heir) this is laid down for one: "'Such as have received ordination from the Bishops of the Scots or Britons, who in the matter of Easter and tonsure are not united unto the Catholic Church, let them be again by imposition of hands confirmed by a Catholic Bishop. In like manner also let the Churches that have been governed by those Bishops be sprinkled with exorcised water, and confirmed with some service. We have no license also to give unto them Chrism or the Eucharist, when they require it; unless they do first profess, that they will remain with us in the unity of the Church. And such likewise as either of their nation, or of any other, shall doubt of their Baptism, let them be baptized." Thus did they.

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On the other side, how averse the British and the Irish were from having any communion with those of the Roman party, the [m] complaint of Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus before specified, sufficiently manifests. And the answer is well known, which the seven British Bishops, and many other most learned men of the same nation, returned to the propositions made to them by Austin the Monk (who was sent to their parts with authority from Rome :) that "[n] they would perform none of them, nor admit him for their Archbishop." The Welsh Chroniclers further relate, that Dinot the Abbot of Bangor produced divers arguments at that time, to shew that they owed him no subjection; and this among others: "[o] We are under the Government of the Bishop of Kaer-leon upon Usk, who under God is to oversee us, and cause us to keep the way spiritual." And Gotcelinus Bertinianus in the life of Austin: [p] that for the authority of their ceremonies they alledged, "that they were not only delivered to them by St. Eleutherius the Pope, their first instructor at the first infancy almost of the Church; but also hitherto observed by their holy Fathers, who were the friends of God and followers of the Apostles;" and therefore 'they ought not to change them for any new Dogmatists.' But above all others, the British Priests who dwelt in West-Wales abhorred the communion of these new Dogmatists above all measure: as Aldhelme, Abbot of Malmesbury declares at large in his Epistle sent to Geruntius King of Cornwall. Where among many other particulars he shews, that [q] if

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any of the Catholics (for so he calls those of his own side) did go to dwell among them; "they would not vouchsafe to admit them to their company and society, before they first compelled them to perform forty days penance" Yea "even to this day (says Bede, who wrote his history in the year 731,) it is the manner of the Britons, to hold the faith and the religion of the English in no account at all, nor to communicate with them in any thing more than with Pagans."

Whereunto those verses of Taliessyn (honoured by the Britons with the title of Ben Beirdh, that is, the chief of the Bards or wise-men) may be added: (which shew, that he wrote after the coming of Austin into England, and not fifty or sixty years before, as others have imagined.)

Woe be to that Priest yborn,
That will not cleanly weed his corn
And preach his charge among:
Woe be to that Shepherd (I say)
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his office doth belong:
Woe be to him that doth not keep
From Romish Wolves his Sheep,
With staff and weapon strong.

As also those other of Mantuan; which shew that some took the boldness to tax the Romans of folly, impudency, and stolidity, for standing so much upon matters of human institution; that for the not admitting of them they would

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break peace there, where the law of God, and the doctrine first delivered by Christ and his Apostles, was safely kept and maintained.

"I boldly dar'd the Latin Priests accuse
Of folly, impudence, erroneous views,
Because, our rite, they forcibly would change,
And their observance in its stead arrange;
Our love of ancient rule, they fondly dream,
We rashly should renounce for their esteem:
But ought not Rome those minor points forego,
A mod'rate and more lib'ral spirit show,
No more disturb the Commonweal's repose,
No more their fallible decrees impose?
Let holy writ its purer light display,
And o'er our minds exert its mighty sway:
Let Faith in Christ surmount the thorny road,
And Christ's own precepts mark the way to God;
But let not human dogmas these deny,
Or with the wishes of base man comply;
For Christ's commands by Christ himself were giv'n,
Man's surest guide, because the light of Heav'n.

By all that hath been said, the vanity of Osullevan may be seen, who feigneth the Northern Irish, together with the Picts and Britons, to have been so obsequious unto the Bishop of Rome, that they reformed the celebration of Easter by them formerly used, as soon as they understood what the rite of the Roman Church was. Whereas it is known, that after the declaration thereof made by Pope Honorius and the Clergy of Rome, the Northern Irish were nothing moved therewith, but continued still their own tradition. And therefore Bede findeth

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no other excuse for Bishop Aidan herein; but that [u] "either he was ignorant of the canonical time, or if he knew it, that he was so overcome with the authority of his own nation, that he did not follow it:" that he did it, "after the manner of his own nation;" and that "he could not keep Easter contrary to the custom of them which had sent him." His successor Finan, [w] contended more fiercely in the business with Ronan his countryman; and declared himself an open adversary to the Roman rite. Colman that succeeded him, did tread just in his steps: so far, that being put down in the Synod of Streansheal, yet for fear of his country (as before we have heard out of Stephen, the writer of the life of Wilfrid) he refused to conform himself; and chose rather to forego his Bishopric, than to submit himself unto the Roman laws; we read thus in Fridegodus:

[x] His Bishopric defeated Colman leaves,
And seeks again his native Scotia's shores,
To see Ausonian laws destroy'd, he grieves,
The sight, his spirit loaths, his soul abhors.

Neither did he go away alone: but [y] took with him allhis country men that he had gathered together in Lindisfarne, or Holy Island. The Scottish Monks also that were at Rippon (in Yorkshire) [z] chose rather to quit their place, than to admit the observation of Easter and the rest of the rites, according to the custom of the Church of Rome. And so did the matter rest

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among the Irish about forty years after that; until their own countryman [a] Adamnanus persuaded most of them, to yield to the custom received herein by all the Churches abroad.

The Picts did the like not long after, under King Naitan: who "[b] by his regal authority commanded Easter to be observed throughout all his provinces according to the cycle of nineteen years (abolishing the erroneous period of eighty-four years," which before they used) and caused all Priests and Monks to be shorn crown-wise after the Roman manner. The Monks also of the Island of Hy or Y-Columkille, [c] by the persuasion of Ecgbert (an English Priest, that had been bred in Ireland) in the year of our Lord 716, forsook the observation of Easter and the Tonsure, which they had received from Columkille, a hundred and fifty years before, and followed the Roman rite; about eighty years after the time of Pope Honorius, and the sending of Bishop Aidan from thence into England. The Britons in the time of [d] Bede retained still their old usage; until [e] Elbodus (who was the chief Bishop of North-Wales, and died in the year of our Lord 809, as Caradock of Lhancarvan records) brought in the Roman observation of Easter; which is the cause, why [f] his disciple Nennius, designeth the time wherein he wrote his history, by the character of [g] the nineteen years cycle, and not of the other eighty-four. But howsoever North-Wales did; it is very probable that West-Wales (which of all other parts was most eagerly bent against the traditions of the Roman Church) stood out yet

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longer. For we find in the Greek writers of the life of "Chrysostom, that certain Clergymen which dwelt in the Isles of the Ocean," repaired from the utmost borders of the habitable World unto Constantinople, in the days of Methodius (who was Patriarch there, from the year 842 to the year 847, to enquire of "[h] certain ecclesiastical traditions, and the perfect and exact computation of Easter." Whereby it appears, that these questions were kept still a-foot in these Islands; and that the resolution of the Bishop of Constantinople was sought for from hence, as well as the determination of the Bishop of Rome, who is now made the only Oracle of the World.

Neither is it here to be omitted, that whatever broils passed between our Irish that were not subject to the See of Rome, and those others that were of the Roman Communion: in the succeeding ages, they of the one side were esteemed to be saints, as well as they of the other; Aidan for example, and Finan, who were counted ring-leaders of the Quartadeciman party, as well as Wilfrid and Cuthbert, who were so violent against it. Yet now a-days men are made to believe, that out of the Communion of the Church of Rome, nothing but hell can be looked for; and that subjection to the Bishop of Rome, as to the visible Head of the Universal Church, is required as a matter necessary to salvation. Which if it may go current for good divinity, the case is like to go hard, not only with the[i] twelve hundred British Monks of Bangor, who were martyred in one day by Edelfride, King of

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Northumberland; (whom our annals style by the name of [k] *the Saints*;) but also with St. Aidan and St. Finan, who deserve to be honoured by the English nation with as venerable a remembrance, as (I do not say, Wilfrid and Cuthbert, but) Austin the Monk and his followers. For by the ministry of [l] Aidan was the kingdom of Northumberland recovered from Paganism: (whereunto belonged then beside the Shire of Northumberland and the lands beyond it, unto Edinburgh, Frith, Cumberland also and Westmoreland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the Bishopric of Durham:) and by the means of [m] Finan, not only was the kingdom of the East-Saxons (which contained Essex, Middlesex, and half of Herdfordshire) regained, but also the large kingdom of Mercia converted first unto Christianity; which comprehended under it Glocestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Darbyshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, Cheshire, and the other half of Hertfordshire.

The Scottish that professed no subjection to the Church of Rome, were they that sent Preachers for the conversion of these countries; and ordained Bishops to govern them: namely, [n] Aidan, Finan and Colman successively for the kingdom of Northumberland; [o] for the East-Saxons, Cedd, brother to Ceadda the Bishop of York before mentioned; [p] for the Middle Angels (which inhabited Leicestershire,) and the Mercians, Diuma, (for "[q] the

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paucity of Priests, (saith Bede,) constrained one Bishop to be appointed over two people,) and after him Cellach and Trumhere." And these with their followers, notwithstanding their division from the See of Rome, were for [r] their extraordinary sanctity of life, and painfulness in preaching the Gospel, (wherein they went far beyond those of the other side, that afterward thrust them out and entered in upon their labours) exceedingly reverenced by all that knew them; Aidan especially who "[s] although he could not keep Easter (says Bede) contrary to the manner of them which had sent him: yet he was careful diligently to perform the works of faith and godliness, and love, according to the manner used by all holy men. Whereupon he was worthily beloved of all, even of them also who thought otherwise of Easter than he did; and was had in reverence not only by them that were of meaner rank, but also by the Bishops themselves, Honorius of Canterbury, and Felix of the East-Angels." Neither did Honorius and Felix any other way carry themselves herein, than their predecessors Laurentius, Mellitus and Justus had done before them: who writing unto the Bishops of Ireland, that dissented from the Church of Rome in the celebration of Easter, and many other things, made no scruple to prefix this loving and respectful superscription to their letters: "[t] To our Lords and most dear Brethren the Bishops or Abbots throughout all Scotland; Laurentius, Mellitus and Justus, Bishops, the servants of the servants of God." For howsoever Ireland at that time [u] received not the

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same laws wherewith other nations were governed; yet it so 'flourished in the vigour of christian doctrine' (as Abbot Jonas testifies) that 'it exceeded the faith of all the neighbouring nations;' and in that respect was generally had in honour by them.

CHAP. XI.

Of the temporal Power, which the Pope's followers would directly entitle him unto, over the Kingdom of Ireland: together with the indirect power which he challengeth, in absolving subjects from the obedience which they owe to their temporal Governors.

IT now remains that in the last place we should consider the Pope's power in disposing the temporal state of this Kingdom, which either directly or indirectly, by hook or by crook, this grand usurper would draw unto himself. First therefore Cardinal Allen would have us to know, that "the See Apostolic hath an old claim, unto the sovereignty of the country of Ireland, and that before the covenants passed between King John and the same See. Which challenges (says he) Princes commonly yield not up, by what ground soever they come." What Princes use to yield or not yield, I leave to the scanning of those, unto whom Princes' matters do belong; for the Cardinals Prince I dare be bold to

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say, that if it be not his use to play fast and loose with other Princes, the matter is now to do; whatsoever right he could pretend to the temporal state of Ireland, he hath transferred it (more than once) unto the Kings of England; and when the ground of his claim shall be looked into, it will be found so frivolous and so ridiculous, that we need not care three chips, whether he yield it up, or keep it to himself. For whatsoever become of his idle challenges, the crown of England hath otherwise obtained an undoubted right unto the Sovereignty of this Country; partly by conquest, prosecuted at first upon occasion of a social war; partly by the several submissions of the Chieftains of the Land made afterwards. For "d whereas it is free for all men, although they have been formerly quit from all subjection, to renounce their own right: yet now in these our days (saith Giraldus Cambrensis, in his history of the conquest of Ireland,) all the Princes of Ireland did voluntarily submit, and bind themselves with firm bonds of faith and oath, unto Henry the Second, King of England." The like might be said of the general submissions made in the days of King Richard the Second and King Henry the Eighth: to speak nothing of the prescription of divers hundreds of years, possession; which was the plea that * Jepthah used to the Ammonites, and is indeed the best evidence that the Bishop of Rome's own proctors do produce for their master's right to Rome itself.

* Judges xi. 26.

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For the Pope's direct dominion over Ireland, two titles are brought forth; beside those Covenants of King John, (mentioned by Allen) which he that hath any understanding in our state, knoweth to be clearly void and worth nothing. The one is taken from a special grant, supposed to be made by the inhabitants of the country, at the time of their first conversion unto Christianity: the other from a right which [g] the Pope challenges unto himself over all islands in general. The former of these was devised of late by an Italian, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth; the latter was found out in the days of King Henry the Second; before whose time not one footstep appears in all antiquity, of any claim that the Bishop of Rome should make to the dominion of Ireland; no not in the Pope's own records, which have been curiously searched by Nicolaus Arragonius, and other Ministers of his, who have purposely written of the particulars of his temporal estate. The Italian of whom I speak, is Polydore Virgil; he who composed the book *De Inventoribus rerum*, or of the first inventers of things: among whom he himself may challenge a place for this invention; if the inventers of lies be admitted to have any room in that company. This man being sent over by the Pope into England [h] for the collection of his *Peter-pence*, undertook the writing of the history of that nation; wherein he forgot not by the way to do the best service he could to his Lord who had employed him there. There he tells an idle tale; how the Irish being moved to accept Henry the

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Second for their King, "[h] did deny that this could be done otherwise than by the Bishop of Rome's authority: because (forsooth) that from the very beginning, after they had received the Christian Religion, they had yielded themselves and all that they had into his power. And they constantly affirmed (says this fabler) that they had no other Lord, besides the Pope; of which also they yet brag."

The Italian is followed herein by two Englishmen who wished the Pope's advancement, as much as he himself could desire; Edmund Campian and Nicholas Sanders. The one whereof writes that "[i] immediately after Christianity was planted here, the whole Island with one consent gave themselves not only into the spiritual, but also into the temporal jurisdiction of the See of Rome." The other in Polydore's own words (though he names him not) that "[l] the Irish from the beginning, presently after they had received the Christian Religion, gave up themselves and all that they had, into the power of the Bishop of Rome;" and that until the time of King Henry the Second, they 'acknowledged no other supreme Prince of Ireland, besides the Bishop of Rome alone.' For confutation of which dream, we need not have recourse to our own Chronicles; the Bull of Adrian the fourth, wherein he gives liberty to King Henry the Second to enter upon Ireland, sufficiently discovers the vanity thereof. For, he there shewing what right the Church of Rome pretended unto

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Ireland, makes no mention at all of this (which had been the fairest and clearest title that could be alledged, if any such had been then existent *in rerum naturæ*,) but is fain to fly unto a farfetcht interest, which he says the Church of Rome hath unto all Christian Islands. "[m] Truly (says he to the King) there is no doubt, but that all Islands unto which Christ the Son of Righteousness has shined, and which have received the instructions of the Christian Faith, do pertain to the right of Saint Peter, and the holy Church of Rome: which your nobleness also acknowledges.

If you would further understand the ground of this strange claim, whereby all Christian Islands at a clap are challenged to be parcels of St. Peter's patrimony; you shall have it from Johannes Sarisburiensis, who was most inward with Pope Adrian, and obtained from him this very grant whereof now we are speaking. "[n] At my request (says he) he granted Ireland to the illustrious King of England, Henry the Second, and gave it to be possessed by right of inheritance; as his own letters testify unto this day. For all Islands, of ancient right, are said to belong to the Church of Rome, by the donation of Constantine, who founded and endowed the same." But will you see, what a goodly title here is, in the mean time? First, the donation of Constantine has been long since discovered to be a notorious forgery, and is rejected by all men of judgment as a senseless fiction. Secondly, in the whole context of this forged donation I find mention made of Islands in one place only: [o] where

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no more power is given to the Church of Rome over them, than in general over the whole Continent (by East and by West, by North and by South) and in particular over Judæa, Græcia, Asia, Thracia, and Africa; which use not to pass in the account of St. Peter's temporal patrimony. Thirdly, it doth not appear, that Constantine himself had any interest in the Kingdom of Ireland: how then could he confer it upon another? Some words there be in an oration of [p] Eumenius the Rhetorician, by which peradventure it may be collected, that this father Constantius bare some stroke here: but that the Island was ever possessed by the Romans, or accounted a parcel of the Empire, cannot be proved by any sufficient testimony of antiquity. Fourthly, the late writers that are of another mind, as Pomponius Lætus, Cuspinian, and others, do yet affirm withal, [q] that in the division of the Empire after Constantine's death, Ireland was assigned unto Constantinus the eldest son: which will hardly stand with this donation of the Islands, supposed to be formerly made unto the Bishop of Rome and his successors. Pope Adrian therefore, and John of Salisbury, his Solicitor, had need seek some better warrant for the title of Ireland, than the Donation of Constantine.

John Harding in his Chronicle says that the Kings of England have right,

[r] To Ireland also, by King Henry (*le fitz*
Of Maude, daughter of first King Henry)
That conquered it, for their great Heresy.

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Which in another place he expresses more at large in this manner :

[s] The King Henry then, conquered all Ireland
By Papal Doom, there of his Royalty,
The profits and revenues of the land,
The domination and the sovereignty,
For error which again the spirituality,
They held full long, and would not been correct
Of Heresies, with which they were infect.

Philip Osullevan on the other side, not only denies [t] that Ireland was infected with any Heresy : but would also have us believe, [u] that the Pope never intended to confer the Lordship of Ireland upon the Kings of England. For where it is said in Pope Adrian's Bull ; " [x] Let the people of that Land receive thee, and reverence thee as a Lord :" the meaning thereof is, says this Glosser, [y] let them reverence thee, " as a Prince worthy of great honour ; not as Lord of Ireland, but as a Deputy appointed for the collecting of the Ecclesiastical Tribute." It is true indeed that King Henry the Second, to the end he might the more easily obtain the Pope's good will for his entering upon Ireland, voluntarily offered unto him " the payment of a yearly pension of one penny out of every house' in the country : which (for ought that I can learn) was the first Ecclesiastical Tribute that ever came unto the Pope's Coffers out of Ireland. But that King Henry got nothing else by the bargain, but the bare office of collecting the

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Pope's *Smoke-silver*, (for so we called it here, when we paid it), is so dull a conceit; that I do somewhat wonder, how Osullevan himself could be such a block-head, as not to discern the senselessness of it.

What the King sought for and obtained, is sufficiently declared by them who wrote the history of his reign. "In the Year of our Lord 1155, the first Bull was sent unto him by Pope Adrian: the sum whereof is thus laid down in a second Bull, directed unto him by Alexander the Third, the immediate successor of the other. "[a] Following the steps of reverend Pope Adrian, and attending the fruit of your desire; we ratify and confirm his grant concerning the Dominion of the Kingdom of Ireland, conferred upon you: reserving unto St. Peter and the holy Church of Rome, as in England, so in Ireland, the yearly pension of one penny out of every house." In this sort did Pope Adrian, as much as lay in him, give Ireland unto King Henry, *hæreditario jure possidendam*, 'to be possessed by right of inheritance, and withal "[b] sent unto him a ring of gold, set with a fair emerald, for his investiture in the right thereof:" as Johannes Sarisburiensis, who was the principal agent between them both in this business expressly testifies. After this, in the year 1171, the King himself came hither in person: where the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland "[c] received him for their King and Lord." The King (says John Brampton) "[d] received letters from every Archbishop and Bishop, with their seals hanging

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upon them in the manner of an indenture; confirming the Kingdom of Ireland unto him and his heirs, and bearing witness that they in Ireland had ordained him and his heirs, to be their Kings and Lords for ever." At Waterford (says Roger Hoveden) "[e] all the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of Ireland, came unto the King of England, and received him for King and Lord of Ireland; swearing fealty to him and to his Heirs, and power to reign over them for ever: and hereof they gave him their instruments. The Kings also and Princes of Ireland, by the example of the Clergy, in like manner received Henry King of England for Lord and King of Ireland; and became his men (or, did him homage) and swore fealty to him and his Heirs against all men."

These things were presently after confirmed in the National Synod held at Cashel: the acts whereof in Giraldus Cambrensis are thus concluded. "[f] For it is fit and most meet, that as Ireland, by God's appointment hath gotten a Lord and a King from England; so also they should from thence receive a better form of living." King Henry also at the same time "[g] sent a transcript of the instruments of all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, unto Pope Alexander: who by his Apostolical authority (for so was it in those days of darkness esteemed to be) did confirm the Kingdom of Ireland unto him and his Heirs, (according to the form of the instruments of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ire-

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land,") "[h] and made them Kings thereof for ever." The King also [i] obtained further from Pope Alexander, "that it might be lawful for him to make which of his sons he pleased, King of Ireland, and to crown him accordingly; and to subdue the Kings and great Ones of that land, which would not subject themselves unto him." Whereupon in a grand Council held at Oxford, in the year of our Lord 1177, "[k] before the Bishops and Peers of the Kingdom, he constituted his son John King of Ireland;" "[l] according to that grant and confirmation of Pope Alexander." And to make the matter yet more sure, in the year 1186, he obtained a new license from Pope Urban the Third, "[m] that one of his sons, whom he himself would, should be crowned for the Kingdom of Ireland." And this the Pope not only 'confirmed by his Bull;' but also the year following purposely sent over Cardinal Octavian and Hugo de Nunant (or Novant) [n] his Legates into Ireland, to crown John the King's son there.

By all this we may see, how far King Henry the Second proceeded in this business: which I do not so much note, to convince the stolidity of Osullevan, who would fain persuade fools, that he was preferred only to be collector of the Pope's Peter-pence: as to shew, that Ireland was at that time esteemed a Kingdom, and the Kings of England accounted no less than Kings thereof. And therefore • Paul the fourth needed not make all that noise, and trouble "[p] the whole Court of Heaven" with the

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matter ; when in the year 1155, he took upon him by his Apostolical authority (such I am sure, as none of the Apostles of Christ did ever assume unto themselves,) to erect Ireland unto the title and dignity of a Kingdom. Whereas he might have found, even in his own [q] Roman Provincial, that Ireland was reckoned among the Kingdoms of Christendom, before he was born. Insomuch, that in the year 1417, when the legates of the King of England and the French King's Ambassadors, fell at variance in the Council of Constance for precedency ; the English orators, among other arguments, alledged this also for themselves : "[r] It is well known, that according to Albertus Magnus, and Bartholomæus in his book *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, the whole world being divided into three parts, (to wit, Asia, Africa and Europe,) Europe is divided into four Kingdoms : namely, the Roman for the first, the Constantinopolitan for the second, the third the Kingdom of Ireland, which is now translated unto the English, and the fourth the Kingdom of Spain ; whereby it appears that the King of England and his Kingdom, are of the more eminent, ancient Kings and Kingdoms of all Europe ; which Prerogative the Kingdom of France is not said to obtain." And this have I here inserted the more willingly, because it maketh something for the honour of my country (to which, I confess, I am very much devoted) and in the printed acts of the council it is not commonly to be had.

But now cometh forth Osullevan again, and like

* It ought also to be remembered, that the Popes, in other cases, only claimed the right of transfer over *infidel* countries.

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a little fury fired upon [s] the English-Irish Priests of his own religion, which in the late rebellion of the Earl of Tirone, did "not deny *that* hellish doctrine (fetched out of hell for the destruction of Catholics,) that it is lawful for Catholics to bear arms and fight for Heretics against Catholics and their Country;" or rather (if you will have it in plainer terms) that it is lawful for them of the Romish Religion, to bear arms and fight for their Sovereign and fellow-subjects that are of another profession, against those of their own religion that traiterously rebel against their Prince and country. And to shew, "[t] how mad and how venomous a doctrine they did bring (these be the Caitiffs' own terms) that exhorted the Laity to follow the Queen's side:" he sets down the censure of the Doctors of the Universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, published in the year 1603, for the justification of that rebellion, and the declaration of Pope Clement the Eighth's letters touching the same; wherein he signifies that "[u] the English ought to be set upon no less than the Turks, and imparts the same favours unto such as set upon them, that he doth unto such as fight against the Turks." Such wholesome directions doth the Bishop of Rome give unto those that will be ruled by him; far different (I wiss) from that holy doctrine, wherewith the Church of Rome was at first seasoned by the Apostles. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God:" was the lesson that St. Paul taught to the ancient Romans. Where if it be demanded; "[v] whether that power which persecutes

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the servants of God, impugns the faith, and subverts religion, be of God?" [w] Our countryman Sedulius will teach us to answer with Origen; that "even such a power as that, is given of God, for the revenge of the evil, and the praise of the good." Although he were as wicked, as either Nero among the Romans, or Herod among the Jews: the one whereof most cruelly persecuted the Christians, the other Christ himself.

And yet when the one of them swayed the scepter, St. Paul told the Christian Romans; that they "must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake: and of the causeless fear of the other, these verses of Sedulius are solemnly sung in the Church of Rome, even unto this day.

[x] Why impious Herod, dost thou fear,
And at Christ's coming frown?
The mortal, he takes not away,
Who gives the Heavenly Crown.

A better paraphrase whereof you cannot have, than this [y] which Claudius has inserted into his collections upon St. Matthew, "That King who is born, doth not come to overcome Kings in battle, but to subdue them after a wonderful manner by his own death; neither is he born to the end that he may succeed thee, but that the world may faithfully believe in him. For he is come, not that he may fight being alive, but that he may triumph being slain; not that he may with gold procure an army for himself out of other countries; but that he may shed his precious blood for

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the saving of the nations. Vainly did your envy fear him as your successor, whom by faith you ought to seek as your Saviour: because if you believed in him, you would also reign with him; and as thou hast received a temporal Kingdom from him, thou shouldest also receive from him an everlasting. For the Kingdom of this child is not of *this* world, but by him it is that men notwithstanding *reign* in this world. He is the wisdom of God, which saith in the proverbs, by me Kings reign. This child is the word of God: this child is the power and wisdom of God: if thou canst think against the wisdom of God, thou workest thine own destruction, and dost not know it. For thou by no means shouldest have had thy kingdom, unless thou hadst received it from that child, which now is born."

As for the censure of the doctors of Salamanca and Valladolid; our Nobility and Gentry, by the faithful service, which at that time they performed unto the Crown of England, did make a real confutation of it. Of whose fidelity in this kind I am so well persuaded, that I do assure myself, that neither the names of Franciscus Zumel and Alphonsus Curiel, (how great schoolmen soever they were) nor of the fathers of the society (Johannes de Ziguenza, Emanuel de Roias, and Gaspar de Mena) nor of the Pope himself, upon whose sentence they wholly ground their resolution; either then was, or hereafter will be, of any force to remove them one whit from the allegiance and duty, which they do owe unto their King and country. Nay, I am in good hope, that their loyal minds will so

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far distaste that evil lesson, which those great rabbies of their's would have them learn; that it will teach them to unlearn another bad lesson, wherewith they have been most miserably deluded. For whereas heretofore [z] wise men did learn to give credence to the truth, "by whomsoever it was declared:" now men are made such fools, that they are taught "[a] to attend in the Doctrine of Religion, not what the thing is that is said, but what the person is that speaketh it."

But how dangerous a thing it is, to have the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ in respect of persons; and to give entertainment to the truth, not so much for itself, as for the regard that is had to the deliverer of it; I wish men would learn otherwise, than by woeful experience in themselves. "[b] The truth (says Claudius) is to be loved for itself, not for the man, or for the angel, by whom it is preached. For he who loves it, because he esteems the preachers of it, may love lies also, if they peradventure shall deliver any." As here without all *peradventure*, the Pope and his Doctors have done; unless the teaching of flat rebellion and high treason, may pass in the account of Catholic verities. The Lord of his mercy open their eyes, that they may see the light; and give them grace to "receive the love of the truth, that they may be saved." The Lord likewise grant (if it be his blessed will) that Truth and Peace may meet together in our days, that we may be all gathered into one fold under one Shepherd, and that "the whole earth may be filled with his Glory. Amen, Amen."

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A CATALOGUE

OF THE

AUTHORS

(Cited in this Discourse,)

According to the times wherein they flourished.

300 Evmenius Rhetor.
317 Constantinus Magnus, *cui ineptissima afficta est Donatio.*
330 Eusebius.
380 Amphilochius.
400 Jo. Chrysostomus.
410 Hieronymus.
414 Pelagius & Celestius hæretici.
420 Augustinus.
433 Prosper Aquitanicus.
440 Patricius.*
448 Secundinus.
450 Synodus Patricii, Auxilii and Issernini.
490 Sedulius.
494 Concilium Romanum sub Gelasio.
530 Damascius.
540 Gildas.
Cogitosus.*
580 Venantius Fortunatus.
592 Gregorius I.
600 Columbanus.
610 Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, *quorum epistolæ ad Hibernos pars habetur apud Bedam.*
620 Taliessinus Bardus.
630 Gallus.
634 Honorius I. *cujus epistolæ ad Hibernos pars habetur apud Bedam.*
639 Clerus Romanus, *cujus epistolæ ad Hibernos fragmentum habetur apud Bedam.*
640 Jonas.
650 Cummianus.*
657 Author libri de Mirabilibus S. Scripturæ.
660 Hildephonsus Toletanus.
664 Streneshalchana Synodus, *cui interfuerunt* Colmannus and Wilfridus.
680 Theodorus Campidonensis, vel quicunque author fuit Vitæ Magni sive Magnoaldi.
680 Author Vitæ Fursei.*
690 Adamnanus.
690 Aldhelmus.
700 Collectio Canonum,* Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxonicæ.
720 Stephanus Presbyter.
730 Author fragmenti de Ecclesiasticorum Officiorum origine.*
731 Beda.
745 Bonifacius Moguntinus.
745 Concilium Romanum II. sub Zacharia P.
760 Egbertus.*
795 Alcuinus.
800 Egilwardus, vel quicunque author fuit vitæ Kiliani.

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815 Claudius Scotus.
840 Walafridus Strabus.
850 Anonymous author vitæ Chrysostomi.
850 Johannes Erigena.
858 Nennius.*
880 Photius.
885 Ælfredus Rex.
890 Leo Imperator.
893 Asser Menevensis.
914 Howelus Dha.*
950 Fridegodus Probus Brito.*
1010 Calvus Perennis.
1022 Burgenses Dublin.*
1022 Henricus I. Rex Angliæ.*
1074 Lanfrancus.*
1080 Gregorius VII.*
1082 Marianus Scotus.*
1085 Johannes, Sulgeni filius.*
1090 Ricemarchus, filius ejusdem.
1095 Anselmus.
1100 Gille sive Gillebertus Lumnicensis Episc.
1110 Gotcelinus Bertinianus.*
1123 Eadmerus.
1125 Hildebertus Cenomanensis.*
1130 Liber Landavensis Ecclesiæ, vocatus Tilo.
1140 Guilielmus Malmesburiensis.
1150 Bernardus Clarævallensis.
1153 Henricus Saltereyensis.
1155 Adrianus IV.
1156 Caradocus Lancarvanensis.
1158 Johannes Sarisburiensis.
1175 Alexander III.
1180 Jocelinus Furnesii monachus.
1185 Giraldus Cambrensis.*
1204 Rogerus Hovedenus.
1210 Robertus de Monte.
1210 Innocentius III.
1216 Tuamensis Archiepisc, & Suffraganeorum rescriptum ad eundem.
1222 Cæsarius Heisterbachensis monachus.
1226 Gualterus Coventriensis.
1235 Rogerus de Wendover.*
1240 Annalium Dubliniensium fragmentum.*
1250 Matthæus Parisiensis.
1281 Johannes Brampton.*
1292 Bartholomæus de Cotton. Annales Melrosensis Cœnobii.*
1307 Nicolaus Trivetus.
1347 Pembrigius, author prioris partis Annalium Hiberniæ A. D. Camdeno editorum.
1357 Richard, Armachanus.
1366 Johannes de Tinmouth, Anglicus vulgo dictus.*
1384 Guilielmus Andreæ, Midensis episcopus.
1392 Concilium Stanfordiæ sub Guilielmo Cantuariensi.
1417 Oratores Angli in Constantiensi Concilio.
1427 Thomas Casæus.*
1438 Marcus Ephesius.
1460 Johannes Capgravius.
1461 Johannes Hardingus.
1480 Johannes Rossus.
1490 Pomponius Lætus.
1494 Baptista Mantuanus.
1500 Jo. Cuspinianus.
1533 Polydorus Virgilius.

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Appendix.

CHAP. I.

[a] SCRUTAMINI legem, in quâ voluntas ejus continetur. *Sedul. in Ephes.* v. ——[b] Plus vult sapere, qui illa scrutatur quæ Lex non dicit. *Id. in Rom.* xii. ——[c] Propterea errant, quia Scripturas nesciunt; & quia Scripturas ignorant, consequenter nesciunt virtutem Dei, hoc est, Christum, qui est Dei virtus & Dei sapientia. *Claud. in Matth. lib.* iii. Habetur M. S. Romæ in Bibliothecâ Vallicellanâ; & Cantabrigiæ, in Bibliothec. Colleg. Benedict. & Aulæ Pembrochianæ.——[d] Hoc, quia de Scripturis non habet authoritatem, eâdem facilitate contemnitur quâ probatur. *Id. ibid.*——[e] Tantùm ea quæ Propheticis, Evangelicis & Apostolicis literis discere poterant, pietatis & castitatis opera diligenter observantes. *Bed. lib.* 3. *histor. Ecclesiast. cap.* 4.——[f] In tantum autem vita illius à nostri temporis segnitia distabat; ut omnes qui cum eo incedebant, sive adtonsi, sive laici, meditari deberent, id est, aut legendis Scripturis, aut Psalmis discendis operam dare. *Id. ibid. cap.* 5. Κἂν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀπέλθῃς· κἂν τοὺς τὰς Βρεταννικὰς νήσους ἐκείνας κἂν εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον πλεύσῃς πάντων κἂν πρὸς τὰ νότια ἀπέλθῃς μέρη. πάντων ἀκούσῃ παντα χοῦ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς φιλοσοφούντων, φωνὴ μὲν ἑτέρα, πίστις δὲ ἐκ καὶ ἑτέρα γλώσσῃ μὲν διαφόρῳ. διανοία δὲ συμφώνῳ. Chrysost. in serm. de utilitate lectionis Scripturæ, tom. 8. edit. Savil. page 111.——[g] Quinque gentium linguis unam eandemq; summæ veritatis & veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur & confitetur; Anglorum videlicit, Britonum, Scotorum, Pictorum, & Latinorum, quæ meditatione Scripturarum cæteris omnibus est facta communis. *Bed lib.* 1. *Histor. Ecclesiast. cap.* 1.——[h] Bonis semper moribus delectatur et consentit; & assiduis Scripturarum meditationibus & eloquiis animam vegetat. *Pairic. de abusionibus sæculi, cap.* 5. *de* Pudicitia ——[i] Sint tibi divitiæ, divinæ dogmata legis. *Columban. in Monastichis, & in epistola ad Hunaldum.*—— [k] Successit Ecgfridor

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in regnum Alfrit, vir in Scripturis doctissimus. *Bed. lib. 4 hist. cap. 26.* —— [l] Ab ipso tempore pueritiæ suæ curam non modicam lectionibus sacris, simul & monasticis exhibebat disciplinis. *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 19. Ab infantiâ sacris literis & monasticis disciplinis eruditus.* Johannes de Tinmouth (*& ex eo Jo. Capgrav.*) invita Fursei.—— [m] A puerili ætate magnum habet studium sacras discere literas. *Tom. 4. Antiqu. lect. Henr. Canis. p. 642.*—— [n] Davidicis Psalmorum melodiis, & sanctorum Evangeliorum mellifluis lectionibus atque cæteris divinis exercitationibus. *Bonifac. in vitâ Livini.*—— [o] Tantum in ejus pectore divinarum thesauri Scripturarum conditi tenebantur; ut intra adolescentiæ ætatem detentus, Psalmorum librum elimato sermone exponeret, *Jonas in vitâ Columbani, cap. 2.*—— [p] B. Burgundofora monasterium quod Fuoriacas appellatur, &c. secundùm regulam *S.* Columbani instituit. *Id. in vitâ Burgundof.*—— [q] Cùm jam in extremis posita posceret per successiones noctium lumen coram se accendi, & sacræ lectionis præconia ante se legi, &c. *Id. ibid.*—— [r] Hebraicam veritatem. *Sedul. in Galat. 3. & Hebr. 7.*—— [s] Non, ut malè in Latinis codicibus, corrumpit. *Sedul. in Gal. 5.*—— [t] Instruat; sive, ut meliùs habetur in Græco, perficiat in spiritu lenitatis, *Claud. in Gal. 6.*—— [u] Absit à te Domine: vel ut meliùs habetur in Græco; Propitius esto tibi, Domine. *Id. lib. 2. comment. in Matth.*—— [v] Lingua balborum velociter loquetur & planè. [w] Linguæ balbutientes velociter discent loqui pacem.—— [x] αἱ γλῶσσαι αἱ ψελλίζουσαι ταχὺ μαθήσονται λαλεῖν εἰρήνην.—— [y] Exultabitis sicut, vituli ex vinculis resoluti. Græc. σκιρτήσεις ὡς μοσχάρια ἐκ δεσμῶν. ἀνειμένα.—— [z] Salietis sicut vituli de armento.—— [a] Divitiæ quas congregabit injustè, evomentur de ventre ejus, trahit illum angelus mortis. Irâ draconum mulctabitur: interficiet illum lingua colubri. Græc. Πλοῦτον ἄδικος συναγομενον ἐξεμεθήσεται, ἐξ οἰκίας αὐτοῦ ἐξελκύσει αὐτὸν ἄγγελος. Θυμὸν δὲ δρακόντων θηλάσεται, ἀνέλοι δὲ αὐτὸν γλῶσσα ὄφεως. —— [b] Divitias quas devoravit evomet, & de ventre illius extrahet eas Deus. Caput aspidum suget, & occèdet eam lingua viperæ. —— [c] Si recte offeras, recte autem non dividas, *Asser. Menevens. de gestis Ælfredi R.*—— [d] Οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἥμαρτες; [e] Nonne si bene egeris, recipies? sin autem male, statim in foribus peccatum aderit?—— [f] Gothicis nostrum libris antiq uisimis adjuti sumus: in quibus magis sincera sacrorum librorum versio ab Hieronymo facta conservatur, argumento præter alia, ejus etiam in Psalmos interpretationem iis libris contineri, pro quâ nostri codices Septuaginta interpretum versionem in illos mutârunt. *Jo. Marian. Præfat. Scholior. In Biblia, ad Card. Bellarmin.*—— [g] *In Psalmo* 117. *ubi* LXX. *interpres transtulerunt*, O Domine salvum me fac. *in Hebræo scriptum est*, Anna Adonai Osanna: *quod inter-*

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pres noster. Hieronymus diligentius elucidans ita transtulit; **Obsecro Domine, salva obsecro.** *Claud. Scot. in Matth. lib.* 3.——[h] *M. S. in Bibliothecâ eruditissimi antistitis D. Gulielmi Bedelli. Kilmorensus & Ardachadensis apud nos Episcopi.*——[i] *Caradoc. in Chronico Cambriæ, circa annum* 1099. *ad quem in aliis etiam Annalibus Britannicis M. S. S. annotatum reperi.* **Sub hujus anni ambitum morti succumbit Richmarch cognomine Sapiens, filius Sulgeni Episcopi, cùm jam annum XLIII. ætatis ageret.**

[k] *Ebræis nablam custodit littera signis:*
Pro captu quam quisque suo sermone Latino
Edidit, innumeros Linguâ variante libellos;
Ebræumq; jubar suffuscat nube Latinâ.
Nam tepefacta ferum dant tertia labra saporem.
Sed sacer Hieronymus, Ebræo fonte repletus,
Lucidiùs nudat verum, breviusq: ministrat.
Namque secundat creat, nam tertia vascula vitat.

[l] Quid præterea beatus *Esdras* Propheta illa, Bibliotheca legis, minatus sit attendite. *Gild. Epist.*——[m] *Vid. Richard. Armachanum, de quæstionib. Armeniorum. lib.* 18. *cap.* 1.——[n] Hucusque Hebræorum divina Scriptura temporum seriem continet. Quæ verò post hæc apud Judæos sunt gesta, de libro Maccabæorum, & Josephi atque Aphricani scriptis exhibentur. *Marian. Chron. M. S.*——[o] In Maccabæorum libris etsi aliquid mirabilium numero inserendum conveniens fuisse huic ordini inveniatur; de hoc tamen nullâ curâ fatigabimur: quia tantum agere proposuimus, unde divini canonis mirabilibus exiguam (quamvis ingenioli nostri moduluin excedentem) historicam expositionem ex parte aliquâ tangeremus. *Lib. 2. de mirabilib. Script. cap.* 34. *(inter opera B. Augustini, tom.* 3.)——[p] De lacu verò iterùm & Abacuk translato in Belis & Draconis fabulâ, idcirco in hoc ordine non ponitur; quòd in authoritate divinæ Scripturæ non habentur. *Ibid. cap.* 38.

CHAPTER II.

[a] PRÆSCITAM & prædestinatam immobili concilio creaturam, ad se laudandum, & ex se & in se & per se beatè vivendum, *S. Gallus in serm. habit. Constant.*——[b] Prædestinatione scilicèt æternâ, non creatione temporariâ, sed vocatione gratuitâ, vel indebitâ gratiâ. *Id ibid,*——[c] Miseretur magnâ bonitate, & obdurat nullâ iniquitate: ut neq, liberatus de suis meritis glorietur, neq. damnatus nisi de suis meritis conqueretur. Sola enim gratia redemptos discernit à perditis; quos in unam perditionis concreaverat massam, ab origine ducta causa communi. *Sedul. in Rom.* 9.

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[a] Videt universum genus humanum tam justo judicio divinoque in apostatica radice damnatum; ut etiamsi nullus inde liberatur, nemo rectè posset Dei vituperare justitiam: & qui liberantur, sic oportuisse liberari, ut ex pluribus non liberatis, atq. damnatione justissima derelictis, ostenderetur quid meruisset universa conspersio, quòd etiam justos debitum judicium Dei damnaret, nisi in ejus debitum misericordia subveniret: ut volentium de suis meritis gloriari, omne os obstruatur; & qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur. *Id. ibid.*——[c] Libero arbitrio malè utens homo, & se perdidit, & ipsum. Sicut enim qui se occidit, utiq. vivendo se occidit sed se occidendo non vivit, neque seipsum poterit resuscitare cùm occiderit: ita cùm libero arbitrio peccaretur, victore peccato amissum est & liberum arbitrium, à quo enim quis devictus est, huic & servus addictus est. Sed ad benè faciendum ista libertas unde erit homini addicto & vendito, nisi redimat, cujus illa vox est; Si vos Filius liberaverit, verè liberi eritis. *Id. ibid.*——[f] Quòd ab adolescentia mens hominum apposita sit ad malitiam: non est enim homo qui non peccet. *Id. in Ephes.* 2.——[g] Quid habes ex teipso nisi peccatum? *Id. in* 1 *Cor.* iv.——[h] Deus Author est omnium bonorum, hoc est, & naturæ bonæ, & voluntatis bonæ; quam nisi Deus in illo operetur, non facit homo. Quia præparatur voluntas à Domino in homine bona; ut faciat Deo donante, quod à seipso facere non poterat per liberi arbitrii voluntatem. *Claud. lib.* 1 *in Matth.*——[i] Præcedit bona voluntas hominis multa Dei dona, sed non omnia: quæ autem non præcedit ipsa, in eis est & ipsa. Nam utrumque legitur in sanctis eloquiis; & *misericordia ejus prævenit me, & misericordia ejus subsequetur me:* nolentem prævenit ut velit, volentem subsequitur, ne frustrà velit. Cur enim admonemur petere ut accipiamus; nisi ut ab illo fiat quod volumus, à quo factum est ut velimus? *Sedul in Rom.* 9.——[k] Non ergo lex data est, ut peccatum auferret, sed ut sub peccato omnia concluderet. Lex enim ostendebat esse peccatum, quod illi per consuetudinem cæcati possent putare justitiam: ut hoc modo humiliati cognoscerent non in sua manu esse salutem suam, sed in manu mediatoris. *Id in Gal.* 3.——[l] Non remissio, nec ablatio peccatorum, sed cognitio. *Id. in Rom.* 3.——[m] Lex, quæ per Moysen data est, tantùm peccata ostendit, non abstulit. *Claud. in Gal.* 2. Per q, illam legem morbos ostendentem non auferentem, etiam prævaricationis crimine contrita superbia est. *Id. in Gal.* 3.——[n] Lex non donat peccata, sed damnat. *Sedul. in Rom.* 4.——[o] Dominus Deus imposuerat non justitiæ servientibus sed peccato: justam scilicèt legem in justis hominibus dando, ad demonstranda peccata eorum, non auferenda. Non enim aufert peccata nisi gratiâ fidei quæ per dilectionem operatur. *Claud. in Argument. epist. ad. Gal.*——[p] Gratis nobis donantur peccata, *Sedul in Gal.* 1. A morte redemptis gratis peccata dimittuntur. *Id. in Ephes.* 1.——[q] Absq; operum merito, & peccata nobis concessa

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sunt pristina, & pax indulta post veniam. *Claud. in Gal.* 1.——
[r] Gratiâ estis salvati per fidem, id est, non per opera. *Sedul. in Eph.* 2.——
[s] Non in propriâ justitiâ, vel doctrina, sed in fide crucis, per quam mihi omnia peccata dimissa sunt. *Sedul. & Claud. Gal.* 6.——[t] Abjecta & irritata gratia est, si mihi sola non sufficit. *Sedul. in Gal* 2.——[u] *Christum* vilem habetis, dum putatis eum vobis non sufficere ad salutem. *Id in Galat.* 3.——[v] Disposuit Deus propitium se futurum esse humano generi, si credant in sanguine ejus se esse liberandos. *Id. in Rom.* 3.——[w] Vita corporis anima, vita animæ fides est. *Id. in Hebr* 10.——In fide vivo filii Dei, id est, in sola fide, qui nihil debeo legi. *Id. in Gal.* 2.——[x] Perfectionem legis habet, qui credit in Christo. Cùm enim nullus justificaretur ex lege, quia nemo implebat legem, nisi qui speraret in promissionem Christi; fides posita est, quæ cederet pro perfectione legis; ut in omnibus prætermissis fides satisfaceret pro tota lege. *Id. in Rom.* 10.——[y] Non nostra, non id nobis, sed in Christo, quasi membra in capite. *Id. in* 2 *Cor.* 5.——[z] Fides dimissis per gratiam peccatis, omnes credentes filios efficit Abrahæ. *Id. in Rom.* 4.——[a] Justum fuerat, ut quo modo Abraham credens ex gentibus per solam fidem justificatus est; ita cæteri fidem ejus imitantes salvarentur. *Id. in Rom.* 1.——[b] Per adoptionem efficimur filii Dei, credendo in filium Dei. *Claud. lib.* 1 *in Math.*——[c] Testimonium adoptionis, quòd habemus spiritum, per quem ita oramus: tantam enim arrham non poterat, nisi filii, accipere. *Sed. in Rom.* 8.——[d] Ipse Moses distinxit inter utramque jus, tutiam, fidei scilicet atque factorum: quia altera operibus, altera sola credulitate justificet accedentem. *Id. in Rom.* 10.——[e] Patriarchæ & Prophetæ non ex operibus legis, sed ex fide justificati sunt. *Id. in Gal.* 2.——Ita prævaluit consuetudo peccandi, ut nemo jam perficiat legem: sicut Petrus Apostolus ait; Quod neque nos neque patres nostri portare potuimus. Si qui verò justi non erant maledicti; non ex operibus legis, sed fidei gratia salvati sunt. *Id. in Gal.* 3.——[f] Hoc contra illos agit, qui solam fidem posse sufficere dicunt. *Sedul. in Epheſ.* 5. Non ergo sola ad vitam sufficit fides. *Claud. in Gal.* 5 *bis.* Hæc sententia illos revincit, qui solam fidem ad salutem animarum suarum sufficere arbitrantur. *Id. ibid. in fine.*——[h] Si gentes fides sola non salvat, nec nos: quia ex operibus legis nemo justificabitur. *Claud. in Galat.* 2.——[i] Non quò legis opera contemnenda sint, & absque eis simplex fides adpetenda; sed ipsa opera fide Christi adornentur. Scita est enim sapientis viri illa sententia; non fidelem vivere ex justitia, sed justum ex fide, *Id in Galat.* 3.——[k] Gratis proposuit per solam fidem dimittere peccata. *Sedul in Rom.* 4.——[l] Ut sola fide salvarentur credentes *Idem. in Galat.* 3.——[m] Per solam fidem Christi, quæ per dilectionem operatur. *Id. in Hebr.* 6.——[n] Hæc fides cùm justificata fuerit, tanquam radix imbre susceptò, hæret in animæ solo; ut cum per legem Dei

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excoli cæperit, rursùm in eam surgant rami, qui fructus operum ferant. Non ergo ex operibus radix justitiæ, sed ex radice justitiæ fructus operum crescit; illa scilicit radice justitiæ, cui Deus acceptum fert justitiam sine operibus.— *Id. in Rom* 4.—— ° *Sola fides fidei dono ditabitur almo. Columban. in Monastichis.*—— ᵖ *Perf. three Converf. part.* 1. *chap.* 3. *sect.* 10. —— ᵠ Habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis, de Britannorum vicinia. *Hieron. Præem. lib.* 3. *commentar. in Jerem.*—— ʳ Unumquemque ad justitiam voluntate propriâ regi, tantumque accipe re gratiæ, quantum meruerit. *Marian. Scot. Chron ad an Dom.* 413. *vel* 414. *Whereof see more particularly, the Answer to the Jesuit, in the question of* Free-will.—— ˢ Omnium bonarum voluntatum Justigator; nec non etiam, ut habeantur bona desiderata, largissimus administrator; neque enim unquam aliquem bene velle instigaret, nisi & hoc, quod bene & juste quisque habere desiderat, largiter administraret. *Asser. de rebus gestis Ælfredi, R.*—— ᵗ *Prosp. Aquitan. advers. Collator. circa finem.* ᵘ Blasphemia & stultiloquium est dicere, esse hominem sine peccato: quod omnino non potest, nisi unus mediator Dei & hominum homo Christus Jesus, qui sine peccato est conceptus & partus. *Epist. Cler. Roman. apud Bedam, lib.* 2. *hist. cap.* 19. —— ᵛ Quia, (quod omnibus sapientibus patet, licèt hæretici contradicant) nemo est, qui sine adtactu alicujus peccati vivere possit super terram. *Claud. lib.* 2. *in Matt.*—— ʷ Nullus electus & ita magnus, quem Diabolus non audeat accusare: nisi illum solum, qui peccatum non fecit, qui & dicebat; Nunc venit princeps hujus mundi, & in me nihil invenit. *Sed in Rom.* 8.—— ˣ Non potest impleri. *Id. in Rom.* 7.—Non est qui faciat bonum, hoc est, perfectum & integrum bonum. *Id. in Rom.* 3. —— ʸ Ad hoc nos elegit, ut essemus sancti & immaculati, in futura vita; quoniam Ecclesia Christi non habebit maculam neque rugam. Licet etiam in præsenti vita justi, & sancti, & immaculati, quamvis non ex toto, tamen ex parte, non inconvenienter dici possunt. *Id. in Ephes.* 1.—— ᶻ Tuncerit justus sine ullo omninò peccato, quando nulla lex erit in membris ejus, repugnans legi mentis ejus *Claud. in Gal.* 5.—— ᵃ Non enim jam regnat peccatum in eorum mortali corpore ad obediendum desideriis ejus: quamvis habitet in eodem mortali corpore peccatum, nondum extincto impetu consuetudinis naturalis qua mortaliter nam sumus, & ex propriis vitæ nostræ. cùm & nos ipsi peccando auximus quod ab origine peccati humani damnationis trahebamus. *Id. ibid.*—— ᵇ Vocatione Dei, non merito facti. *Sedul. in Rom.* 1.—— ᶜ Secundum virtutem est, quæ operatur in nobis, non secundum merita nostra. *Id. in Ephes.* 3.—— ᵈ Sciendum est, quia omne quod habent homines à Deo, gratia est: nihil enim ex debito habent. *Id. in Rom.* 16.—— ᵉ Nihil dignum inveniri vel comparari ad futuram gloriam potest. *Id. in Rom*, 8.

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CHAPTER III.

[a] QUI de Purgatorio dubitat, Scotiam pergat, Purgatorium sancti Patricii intret, & de Purgatorii pœnis ampliùs non dubitabit. *Cæsar Heisterbach. Dialog. lib. 12. cap. 38.*—— [b] Cujus loci fama, ita sparsim per omnes Europæ partes volare visa est; ut Cæsarius celeberrimus auctor de eo nihil dubitans sic scribat. *Guil. Thyræus, in Discurs. Panegyric. de 3 Patric. pag.* 151.—— [c] *Henr. Saltereyens. in lib. de Visione Oeni militis M. S. in publicâ Cantabrigiensis Academiæ Bibliothecâ; & privatâ viri doctiss. M. Thomæ Alani Oxoniensis; & in Nigro libro Ecclesiæ S. Trinatat. Dublin.*—— [d] De posteriori non minùs authentica videtur auctoritas Giraldi Cambrensis, rerum Ibernicarum diligentissimi investigatoris, qui taliter loquitur. *Thyr. Discurs. Panegyric, pag.* 153.— [e] De infernalibus namque reproborum pœnis, & de vera post mortem perpetuaque electorum vita vir sanctus cum gente incredula dum disputâsset: ut tanta tam inusitata, tam inopinabilis rerum novitas rudibus infidelium animis oculata fide certius imprimeretur: efficaci orationum instantia magnam & admirabilem utriusque rei notitiam, duræque cervicis populo perutilem, meruit in terris obtinere. *Giral. Cambrens. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 2. cap. 5.*—— [f] Οἱ τον ἰσάγγελον ἐπὶ γῆς πολιτευσάμενοι βίον ὅσοι πατέρες ἡμῶν πολλαχῇ καὶ πολλάκις δὶ ὀπασιῶν καὶ ὑπνίων καὶ ἑτέρων θαυμάτων τὰ περὶ της αἰωνίου κολάσεως καὶ των ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν αὐτοίγε μυούμενοί καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μυήσεις, &c. περὶ καθαρτικῆ πρασκαιρεῖ πυρος ἀδὲν ἀδιαμφισβητως διεσάφησαν. Marcus Ephesius, in Græcorum Apolog. de igne Purgatorio ad Concil Basileens.—— [g] Tria sunt sub omnipotentis Dei nutu habitacula; primum, imum, mediam. Quorum summum regnum Dei vel regnum Cœlorum dicitur, imum vocatur Infernus, medium Mundus præsens vel Orbis terrarum appellatur. Quorum extrema omninò sibi invicem sunt contraria, & nullâ sibi societate conjuncta: (quæ enim societas potest esse luci ad tenebras, & Christo ad Belial?) medium verò nonnullam habet similitudinem ad extrema, &c. Commixtio namque malorum simul & bonorum in hoc mundo est. In regno autem Dei nulli mali sunt, sed omnes boni; at Inferno nulli boni sunt, sed omnes mali. Et uterque locus ex medio suppletur. Hominum enim hujus mundi alii elevantur ad Cœlum, alii trahuntur ad Infernum. Similes quippe similibus junguntur, id est, boni bonis, & mali malis, justi homines justis angelis, transgressores homines transgressoribus angelis; servi dei Deo, servi diaboli Diabolo. Benedicti vocantur ad regnum sibi paratum ab origine mundi; maledicti expelluntur in ignem æternum, qui præparatus est Diabolo & angelis ejus *Patric. de trib. habitac. M. S. in Bibliothecâ Regiâ Jacobæâ.*— [h] Custodit animam usque dum steterit ante tribunal Christi; cui refert sua prout gesserit propria. Nec archangelus potest ducere ad vitam usque dum judicaverit eam

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Dominus; nec Diabolus ad pœnam traducere, nisi Dominus damnaverit eam. *Synod. Hibern. in vet. cod. Canonum, titulorum* 66. *M. S. in Bibliothecâ D. Robert. Cottoni.* Cujus initium: *Inter vetera Concilia, quatuor esse venerabiles* Synodos, &c. [k] Finem dixit exitum vitæ & actum; cui aut mors, aut vita succedit. *Sedul. in Rom.* 7. — [l] Mors porta est, per quam itur ad regnum. *Id. in* 1 *Cor.* 3. [m] Suscepit Christus sine reatu supplicium nostrum; ut inde solveret reatum nostrum, & finiret etiam supplicium nostrum. *Claud in Galat.* 3. [m] Beda lib. 3. hist. Anglor. cap. 19 scribit, B. Furseum à mortuis resurgentem narrâsse multa, quæ vidit de purgatoriis pœnis. *Bellarm. de Purgator. lib.* 1 *cap.* 11 — [n] Δαμασκίου περὶ τῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἐπιφαινομένων ψυχῶν, παραδόξων διηγημάτων κεφάλαια ρὲ Phot. *Bibliothecæ. num.* 130. — [o] Et si terribilis iste et grandis locus videtur, tamen juxta merita operum singulos examinat: quia unumquemque cupiditas in hoc igne ardebit. *Beb. lib.* 3. *cap.* 19 — [p] Ὁ ἅδης ἐστὶ τὸ γυάλα τῶν διαπορευομένων τὸν ἐν ὕδατι ἄδην. Damasc. apud Jo. Philoponum in 1 metaor fol. 104. b. — [q] Καὶ ὁ θαύμασιον, οἱ τῶν ψυχαὶ καθαίρονται ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς ἐν ὕδατι γενέσεως Id. Ibid. [r] Hic homo non purgavit delicta sua in terrâ, nec vindictam hic recipit. — Ubi est ergo justitia Dei? *Lib. Vitæ Fursæi.* — [s] Si peccata mortuorum redimi possunt ab amicis suis remanentibus in hâc vitâ; orando, vel eleemosynas faciendo. *Vit. Brendani, in Legendâ Jo. Capgravii.* — [t] Colmannus inquit, vocor, qui sui Monachus iracundus, discordæque seminator inter fratres, *Ibid.* — [u] In hoc ergo, dilectissimi, apparet: quòd oratio vivorum multùm mortuis prodest. *Ibid* — [w] Multa apocrypha deliramenta. *Molan. in Usuard. martyrolog. Mai* 26. — [x] Ἀδύνατα τε τὴν ἀπίθανα, τὴν ἀκόπλαστα περιλογήματα τὴν μωρὰν. Phot. Bibliothecanum. 130. — [y] Nova Legenda Angliæ. *Impress. Londin. an* 1516. [z] Qui videlicèt Columba nunc à nonnullis, composito à cella & Columba nomine, Columcelli vocatur. *Bed lib.* 5. *hist. cap* 10. — [a] *Adamn. Vit. Columb. lib.* 3. *cap.* 15. — [b] Meque (ait) hodie, quam libèt indignus sim, ob venerationem illius animæ, quæ hac in nocte inter sanctos Anglorum choros vecta ultra sidera cœlorum spatia ad paradisum ascendit, sacra operatet Eucharistiæ celebrare mysteria. *Id. cap.* 16. — [c] Vidi, inquit, animam cujusdam sancti manibus Angelicis ad gaudia regni cœlestis ferri. *Bed. in vit. Cuthbert. cap.* 31. — [d] Cœperunt missas agere, & precibus insistere pro commemoratione B. Columbani. *Walafrid. Vit. Gall lib.* 1 *cap.* 26 *Thcod. vit. Magni. lib.* 1. *cap. ult. edit. Goldasti, c.* 12. *Canisii,* — [e] Deinde tanti patris memoriam precibus sacris & sacrificiis salutaribus quentaverunt. *Ibid.* — [f] Post hujus vigilias noctis, cognovi per visionem, Dominum & patrem meum Columbanum de hujus vitæ angustiis hodie ad Paradisi gaudia commigrâsse. Pro ejus itaque reque sacrificium salutis debeo immolare. *Ibid.* — [g] Presbyter cum ut surgeret monuit, & pro reque defuncti ambitiosius Dominum precaretur. Intraverunt itaque Ecclesias, & Episcopus pro carissimo salutares hostias immolavit amico. Finito autem fraternæ commemorationis obsequio, &c. *Walafrid. Strab vit. Call. lib.* 1. *cap.* 30. *qui etiam addit postea, Discipulos ejus,* pariter cum Episcopo orationem pro illo

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fecisse. cap. 33.— [h] Noli flere, venerabilis Præsul, quia me in tot mundialium perturbationum procellis laborantem conspicis: quoniam credo in misericordiâ Dei, quòd anima mea in immortalitatis libertate sit gavisura. Tamen deprecor, ut orationibus tuis sanctis me peccatorem & animam meam non desinas adjuvare. *Theodor. Campidon. vel quicunque author fuit vitæ Magni, lib.* 2. *cap.* 13. *edit. Goldasti. cap.* 28. *Canisii.*— [i] Veni, Magne, veni; accipe coronam quam tibi Dominus præparatam habet *ibid.*— [k] Cessemus flere, frater; quia potius nos oportet gaudere de animæ ejus in immortalitate sumptæ hoc signo audito, quàm luctum facere: sed eamus ad Ecclesiam, & pro tam charissimo amico salutares hostias Domino immolare studeamus. Finito itaque fraternæ commemorationis obsequio &c. *Ibid.*— [l] Dum in præsenti seculo sumus, sive orationibus, sive consiliis invicem posse nos adjuvari: cum autem ante tribunal Christi venerimus, nec Job, nec Daniel, nec Noe, rogare posse pro quoquam; sed unumquemque portare onus suum. *Claud.*

[m] *Vivo Deo fidens Christi præcepta sequendo;*
Dum modo vita manet, dum tempora certa salutis.
Columban. in epist. ad Hunaldum.

[n] *Ut genitor clemens solitâ pietate remittat*
Factis aut dictis quæ gessi corde nefando;
Dum mihi vita manet, dum flendi flumina possunt.
Nam cum tartareis nullius cura subintrat.

CHAPTER IV.

[a] ADORARE alium, præter Patrem, & Filium & Spiritum sanctum, impietatis crimen est. *Sedul. in Rom* 1.— [c] Totum quod debet Deo anima, si alicui præter Deum reddiderit, mœchatur, *Id. in Rom.* 2.— [e] Recedentes à lumine veritatis sapientes; quasi qui invenissent, quo modo invisibilis Deus per simulacrum visibile coleretur. *Id in Rom.* 1.— [d] Deus non in manufactis habitat, nec in metallo aut saxo cognoscitur. *Claud. lib.* 2. *in Mat.*— [e] Non adjarandam esse creaturam aliam, nisi creatorem. *Synod Patricii can.* 23. *M. S.*— [f] *Anselm lib.* 3. *epis.* 143.— [g] Episcopis, presbyteris totius Hiberniæ, infimus præsulum Gillebertus Lunicensis in Christo salutem. Rogatu, nec non & præcepto multorem ex vobis (Charissimi) canonicalem consuetudinem in dicendis Horis, & peragendo totius Ecclesiastici ordinis officio, scribere conatus sum, non præsumptivo, sed vestræ cupiens piissimæ servire jussioni; ut diversi & schismatici illi Ordines, quibus Hibernia penè tota delusa est, uni Catholico & Romano cedant officio. Quid enim magis indecens aut schismaticum dici poterit; quàm doctissimum unius ordinis in alterius Ecclesiâ idiotam & laicum fieri? &c. *Prolog. Gille sive Gilberti Lunicensis episc. de usu Ecclesiastic. M. S. in Colleg. S.*

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Benedict. & publica Academiæ Cantabrigiensis Bibliotheca —— [h] Apostolicas sanctiones ac decreta sanctorum patrum, præcipueque consuetudines sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ in cunctis Ecclesiis statuebat. Hinc est quod hodieque in illis ad horas canonicas cantatur & psallitur juxta morem universæ terræ: nam minime id ante fiebat, ne in civitate quidem. Ipse verò in adolescentia cantum didicerat, & in suo cœnobio mox cantari fecit; cum necdum in civitate seu in Episcopatu universo cantare scirent, vel vellent. *Bernard in vitâ Malachiæ.*—— [i] Officium etiam Ecclesiasticum rite modulandum statuerunt. *Johan, Brampton, in Joralanensi historiâ M. S.*—— [k] Omnia divina ad instar sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ, juxta quod Anglicana observat Ecclesiæ, in omnibus partibus Hiberniæ amodo tractentur. *Girald. Camb. Hibern. expugnat. lib. 1. cap. 34.*—— [l] Concilii statuta subscripta sunt, & Regiæ sublimitatis authoritate firmata. *Id. ibid* —— [m] Ex ipsius triumphatoris mandato, in civitate Cassiliensi convenerunt. *Id. ibid.*—— [n] Ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem sanctæ Romanæ & Apostolicæ Ecclessiæ compleatis *Bed. lib. 2. histor. cap. 2.*—— [o] Per universum orbem terrarum, in Ecclesia ordo cursus Gallorum diffusus est. *Fragment. de Ecclesiasticorum Officiorum origine M. S. Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.*—— [p] *Gildâs ait*, Britones toti mundo contrarii, moribus Romanis inimici non solum in Missa, sed etiam in Tonsura. *Cod. Canonum. titulorum 66. M. S. in eâdem Bibliothecâ.*—— [q] *Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. 3. cap. 31.*— [r] *Leon Tactic. cap. 11, sect. 1.*— [s] *Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. 3. cap. 15.*— [t] *Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Gall. lib. 1 cap. 26. Theodor. Campidonens. vel quicunq; author fuit. Vit. Magni, lib. 1. cap. 9. edit. Goldast. cap. 12. Canisii.*— [u] Præceptor meus B Columbanus in vasis æneis Domino solet sacrificium offerre salutis *Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Gall. lib. 1 cap. 19* — [x] Testamentum Episcopi sive principis est; 10. scripuli Sacerdoti danti sibi sacrificium. *Synod. Hibern. in vet. lib. Canonum Cottoniano, titulorum 66.*— [y] Qui in vitæ suâ non merebitur sacrificium accipere: quomodo post mortem illi potest adjuvare? *Synod. Patric. cap. 12. M. S.*— [z] Invicem expectate, id est, usque quo sacrificium accipiatis. *Sedul. in 1 Cor. 11.*— [a] Gravi infirmitate depressus, à suis commonitus est vicinis, ut juxta morem susciperet sacrificium communionis. *Ex vitâ S. Sampsonis M. S. in libro Landavensis Ecclesiæ vocat.* Tilo.— [b] Id fit potissimum ob Sacrificii, non ob Sacramenti integritatem. *Bellarmin. de sacrament. Eucharist. lib. 4. cap. 22. in fine.*— [c] *Rhem. annotat. in Matth. 26, 26.*— [d] Mittas presbyterium qui illam priusquam moriatur, visitet; eique Dominici corporis & sanguinis sacramenta ministret. *Bed. de Vit. Cuthbert. pros. cap. 15.*— [e] Acceptis à me sacramentis salutaribus exitum suum, quem jam venisse cognovit, Dominici corporis & sanguinis communione munivit. *ibid. cap. 39.*

[k] *Pocula degustat vitæ, Christique supinum*
Sanguine munit iter.——*Bed. de Vit. Cuthbert. carm. cap. 36.*

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[l] Petivtique & accepit sacri corporis & sanguinis communionem. *Author antiqu. Vitæ Fursæi.*— [m] Principes & Doctores Ecclesiæ Christi, animas fidelium ad pœnitentiæ lamentum post culpas provocent, & eas spirituali pastu doctrinæ, ac sacri corporis & sanguinis participatione solidas reddant. *Ibid.*— [n] Per alterum ostium Abbatissa cum suis puellis & vidus fidelibus tantum iverat, (*leg.* intrat) ut convivio corporis & sanguinis fruantur Jesu Christi. *Cogitos. vit. Brigid.*— [o] Quædam ex his nomine Domna, cum accepisset, ac sanguinem libâsset. *Jon. Vit. Burgundof.*— [p] *Rhem. in Mat.* 26, 26.— [q] Venerabilis viri Sedulii Paschale opus, quod heroicis descripsit versibus, insigni laude præferimus. *Synod. Roman. sub Gelasio.*— [r] Hinc quoque conspicui radiavit lingua Seduli. *Venant. Fortunat. de vitâ S. Martini, lib.* 1.— [s] Bonus Sedulius, poeta Evangelicus, Orator facundus, scriptor catholicus. *Hildephons. Toletan. serm.* 5, *de assumpt. Mariæ.*— [t] Sedulii Scoti Hiberniensis, in omnes Epistolas Pauli Collectan. *excus. Basil. an.* 1528.

[v] *Denique Pontificum princeps summusque Sacerdos*
Quis nisi Christus adest? gemini libaminis author,
Ordine Melchisedech, *cui dantur munera semper*
Quæ sua sunt, segetis fructus, & gaudia vitis.——*Sedul. Carm. Paschal. lib.* 4.

[x] Triticeæ sementis cibus suavis, & amœnæ vitis potus amabilis, *Id. pros. lib.* 4. *cap.* 14.— [y] Melchizedech vinum & panem obtulit Abraham, in figuram Christi, corpus & sanguinem suum Deo patri in cruce offerentis. *Sedul. in Heb.* 5.— [z] Nos verò in commemorationem Dominicæ semel passionis quotidie nostræque salutis offerimus. *Id. in Heb.* 10.— [a] Suam memoriam nobis reliquit; quemadmodum si quis peregrè proficiscens aliquod pignus ei quem diligit derelinquat; ut quotiescunque illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia & amicitias recordari. *Id. in* 1 *Cor.* 11.— [b] Voluit ante Discipulis suis tradere sacramentum corporis & sanguinis sui, quod significavit in fractione corporis & effusione calicis; & poteà ipsum corpus immolari in ara Crucis. *Claud. lib.* 3. *in Matth.*— [c] Apud Rathramnum (sive Bertramum) & Elfricum, passim— [d] Quia panis corpus confirmat, vinum verò sanguinem operatur in carne: hic ad corpus Christi mystieè illud refertur ad sanguinem. *Id. ibid.*— [e] Quod corpus Christi in altaris sacramento est solum speculum ad corpus Christi in cœlo. *Ex Actis Willielmi Andeæ Midensis Episcopi contra Henr. Crumpe, anno.* 1384. *quæ M. S. habeo.*— [f] Johannis Scoti liber de Eucharistiâ lectus este, ac damnatus. *Lanfranc. de Eucharist. contr. Berengar.*— [g] Johanne minnm mærre ppeor, *Ælfred. præfat. in Gregur. Pastoral. Saxonic.*— [h] Præsertim cùm ex mirabilibus Scripturæ Dominicæ nil præterire disposui, in qni bus à ministerio quotidiano excellere in aliis videntur. *Lib.* 2. *de mirabilib Scriptur. cap.* 21.—

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CHAPTER V.

[a] QUOD infantes baptismo sine Chrismate consecrato baptizantur. *Lanfranc. Epist. M. S. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ: & apud Baron. an.* 1089. *num.* 16. *sibi tamen* sive *malè habetur pro* sine.— [b] Usum saluberrimum Confessionis, sacramentum Confirmationis, contractum Conjugiorum (quæ omnia aut ignorabant aut negligebant) Malachias de novo instituit. *Bernard. in vitâ Malachiæ.*— [c] Inter mundanas occupationes castissimam vitam rationabili consideratione degere dicuntur. *Alcuin. Epist.* 26. *Edit. H. Canis*, 71, *Andreæ Quercetani.*— [d] Dicitur verò neminem ex Laicis suam velle Confessionem sacerdotibus dare: quos à Deo Christo cum sanctis Apostolis ligandi solvendique potestatem accepisse credimus. *Ibid.*— [e] Coram omnibus qui ibidem erant peccata sua confessus est. *Adamnan. vit. Columb. lib.* 1. *cap.* 16. (*vel* 20. *in M. S.*)— [f] Surge fili, & consolare dimissa sunt tua, quæ commisisti, peccamina, quia sicut scriptum est; Cor contritum & humiliatum Deus non spernit. *Ibid.*— [g] Accedens ad sacerdotem, à quo sibi sperabat itersalutis posse demonstrari; confessus est reatum suum, petiitque ut consilium sibi daret, quo posset figere à venturâ Dei irâ. *Bed. lib.* 4. *histor. cap* 25.— [h] Confessa dignis (ut imporabat) pœnitentiæ fructibus abstergerent. *Id. ibid cap.* 27.— [i] Christianus qui occiderit, aut fornicationem fecerit, aut more Gentilium ad aruspicem meaverit: per singula crimina annum pœnitentiæ agat, impleto cum testibus veniat anno Pœnitentiæ, & posteà resolvetur à sacerdote. *Synod. Patricii, Auxilii & Issernini M. S. in Bibliothecâ Collegii Benedict. Cantabrig.*— [k] Necnon etiam nunc in Episcopis ac Presbyteris omni Ecclesiæ officium idem committur: ut videlicèt agnitis peccantium causis, quoscunque humiles ac vere pœnitentes aspexerint, hos jam à timore perpetuæ mortis miserantes absolvant; quos verò in peccatis quæ egerint persistere cognoverint, illos perennibus suppliciis obligandos insinuent *Claud. in Matth. lib.* 2.— [l] Verum dicunt Scribæ, qui nemo dimittere peccata nisi solus Deus potest: qui per eos quoque dimittit; quibus dimittendi tribuit potestatem. Et ideò Christus verè Deus esse probatur; quia dimittere peccata quasi Deus potest. Verum Deo testimonium reddunt; sed personam Christi negando falluntur. *Id. in Matth. lib.* 1.— [m] Si & Deus est, juxta Psalmistam, qui quantum distat Oriens ab Occasu elongavit à nobis iniquitates nostras; & filius hominis potestatem habet in terâ dimittendi peccata: ergò idem ipse & Deus & filius hominis est, ut et homo Christus per divinitatis suæ potentiam peccata dimittere possit: & idem Deus Christus per humanitatis suæ fragilitatem pro peccatoribus mori. *ibid.*— [n] Ostendit se Deum, qui potest cordis occulta cognoscere: & quodammodo tacens loquitur. Eadem majestate & potentiâ quâ cogitationes vestras intueor, possum & hominibus delicta dimittere. *Ibid.*— [o] In paralytico à quatuor viris portato, quatuor divina opera cernuntur. Dum dimittuntur ei peccata, & præsentis ægritudinis plaga verbo tunc solvitur, & cogitationibus in ora

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Dei omnia scrutantis respondetur. *Auth. lib. de Mirabilib. S. Scriptur. lib.* 3. *cap.* 7.—[p] Deus solus potest occulta hominum scire. *Sedul. in Rom.* 2.—[q] Corda hominum nosse solius Dei est, & mentis secreta agnoscere. *Id. ibid.*—[r] Nondum decimas vel primitias solvunt; non dum matrimonia contrahunt; non incestus vitant. *Girald. Camb. Topograph. Hibern. distinct.* 3. *cap* 19. *Vide etiam Lanfranci epist. ad Gothricum & Terdeluacum reges Hibern. apud Baronium an.* 1089. num. 15. & 16.—[s] Videtur indicare, esse aliquid quod donum quidem sit, non tamen spirituale; ut Nuptiæ. *Sedul. in Rom.* 1.—[t] De consanguinitate in conjugio. Intelligite quid Lex loquitur, non minùs nec plus. Quod autem observatur apud nos, ut quatuor genera dividantur; nec vidisse dicunt nec legisse. *Synod. Patric. cap.* 29. *M. S.*—[u] Audi decreta Synodi super istis. Frater thorum defuncti fratris non ascendat; Domino dicente, Erunt duo in carne una. Ergo uxor fratris tui soror tua est. *Ibid. cap.* 25. *& in excerptis Jure Sacerdotali Egberti Archiepisc. per Hucarium Levitam. M. S.*—[x] *Vit. Kiliani, tom.* 4. *antiqu. lect. Hen. Canisii pag.* 633. *&* 614.—[y] Judaismum indncens, judicat justum esse Christiano, ut si voluerit viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. *Bonifac. Epist. ad. Zachar. tomo.* 3. *Concil. part.* 1. *pag.* 382. *edit. Colon. an.* 1618. —[z] Inferens Christianis Judaismum dum prædicat fratris defuncti accipere uxorem. *Concil. Roman. II. sub Zachar. ibid. pag.* 383 —[a] Quinimo (quod valde detestabile est, & non tantùm fidei, sed & cuilibet honestati valde contrarium) fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico ducunt, sed traducunt, imo veriùs seducunt: dum turpitur eas, & tam incestuosè cognoscunt: veteris in hoc testamenti non medullæ sed cortici adhærentes, veteresque libentius in vitiis quam virtutibus imitari volentes. *Girald. Cambr. Top. graph. Hibern. distinct.* 3 *cap.* 19.—[b] Non licet secundùm præceptum Domini ut dimittatur conjux, nisi causa fornicationis. *Sedul.* in 1. *Cor.* 7.—[c] Non licet vir dimittere uxorem nisi ob causam fornicationis, ac si dicat ob hanc causam. Unde si ducat alteram, velut post mortem prioris non vetant. *Synod. Patric cap.* 26. *M. S.*—[d] Si alicujus uxor fornicata fuerit cum alio viro: non adducet aliam uxorem quamdiù viva fuerit uxor prima. Si fortè conversa fuerit, & agat pœnitentiam, suscipiet eam; & serviet ei invicem ancillæ: & annum integrùm in pane & aqua per mensuram pœniteat; nec in uno lecto permaneant. *Ex libro canonum Cottoniano, titulorum,* 66.—[e] Quicunque Clericis, ab Ostiario usque ad Sacerdotem, sine tunica visus fuerit, &c. & uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit: pariter à laicis contemnentur, & ab Ecclesia separentur. *Synod. Patric. Auxil Iscernin.*—[f] Patrem habui Calpornium Diaconum filium quondam Potiti presbyteri —*S. Patricii confessio. M. S.*—[g] Imperfecta est patrum castitas si eidem non & filiorum accumuletur. Sed quid erit, ubi nec pater, nec filius mali genitoris exemplo pravatus, conspicitur castus? *Gildas.*—[h] Sic inveni ut tibi Samuel (infans magistri mei Benlani presbyteri) in ista pagina scripsi. *Nennius in M. S. Dunelmensi.*—[i] Versus Nennii ad Samuelem filium magistri sui Benlani, viri religiosi, ad quem historiam istam scripserat. *Nenn. M. S. in*

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publick Cantabrigiensis Academiæ Bibliothecâ.— [k] *Hinc apud Balæum, Centur.* 1. *cap* 77. *Benlani presbyteri conjux* Læta *nominata.*— [l] Si clericus haberet fœminam datam à suo genere, & sic habet filium ex ea; & posteà ille clericus presbyteratus ordinem accipiens, si post votum consecrationis filium haberet de eadem fœmina; prior filius non debet partiri cum filio post-nato—*Ex legib. Howel Dha, M. S. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.*— [m] Successivè & post patres filii Ecclesias obtinent, non elective sed hæreditate possidenses & palluentes Sanctuarium Dei, quia si prælatus alium eligere & instituere fortè præsumpserit; in instituentem proculdubiò, vel institutum, genus injuriam vindicabit. *Girald. Cambrensis Descript. Cambriæ libro* 20. *M. S.* Successionis quippe vitium non solùm in sedibus cathedralibus, verumetiam adeò per totam in clero sicut & in populo Walliam pertinaciter invaluit; quòd & post patres filii passim Ecclesias & consequenter obtineant, tanquam hæreditate possidentes & polluentes Sanctuarium Dei. *&c. Id. in Dialogo de Ecclesia Menevensi, distinct.* 1. *M. S.*—[n] *Hildebert. Epist.* 65. *ad Honorium* II. *(tomo* 12. *Biblioth. Patr. part.* 1. *pag.* 338, 339. *edit. Colon.)*—[o] Ex quibus constare potest, utrumque vitium toti huic genti Britanniæ tam cismarinæ quàm transmarinæ ab antiquo commune fuisse. *Girald. Cambr. in utroque.*—[p] *Alphons. Ciacon. in Vitis Pontificum & Cardinalium. pag.* 515.

CHAPTER VI.

FERE omnes Hiberniæ prælati de monasteriis in Clerum electi sunt. *Girald. Cambren. Topograph. Hibern. dittinct* 3. *cap.* 29.— [q] Ecgbertus cum Ceadda adolescente & ipse adolescens in Hibernia monasticam in orationibus & continentiâ & meditatione divinarum scripturarum vitam sedulus agebat. *Bed. lib.* 4. *hist. cap.* 3.— [r] sed & diebus Dominicis ad Ecclesiam sive ad monasteria certatim, non reficiendi corporis, sed erudiendi sermonis Dei gratiâ confluebant. *Id. lib.* 3. *cap.* 26.— [s] Hactenus videri poterat actum esse cum sapientiæ studiis; nisi semen Deus servasset in aliquo mundi angulo. In Scotis & Hibernis hæserat aliquid adhuc de doctrina cognitionis Dei & honestatis civilis; quòd nullus fuerit in ultimis illis mundi finibus armorum terror, &c. Et summam possumus ibi conspicere & adorare Dei bonitatem; quòd in Scotis, & locis, ubi nemo putâsset, tam numerosi coaluerint sub strictissimâ disciplinâ cœtus. *Jacob Curio, lib.* 2. *rerum Chronologic,*— [t] Si quis frater inobediens fuerit; duos dies uno paxmate & aquâ. Si quis dicit, Non faciam, tres dies uno paxmate & aquâ. Si quis murmurat; duos dies uno paxmate & aquâ. Si quis veniam non petit, aut dicit excusationem; duos dies uno paxmate & aquâ. *Columban. lib. de quotidianis Pœnitentiis Monachor. cap.* 10. *M. S. in monasterio S. Galli.*— [u] Quid prodest, si virgo corpore sit, &

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non sit virgo mente? *Id. in Regulâ monachor. cap.* 8.— [g] Quotidie proficiendum est: sicut quotidie orandum, quotidieque est legendum. *Ibid. cap.* 5.— [h] Bona vanè laudata Pharisæi perierunt: & peccata Publicani accusata evanuerunt. Non exeat igitur verbum grande de ore Monachi; ne suus grandis pereat labor. *Ibid. cap.* 7.— [i] Tantam nos habere per naturam liberi arbitrii non peccandi possibilitatem: et plus etiam quàm præceptum est, faciamus: quoniam perpetua servatur à plerisq; virginitas, quæ præcepta non est; cùm ad non peccandum præcepta implere sufficiat. *Aug. de gestis Synod. Palæstin. contra Pelag. cap.* 13.— [k] Ipsis Apostolis & eorum sequacibus ita bonum virginitatis arripiendum persuasit: ut hoc scirent non humanæ industriæ, sed muneris esse divini. *S. Gallus, in serm. habit. constant.*— Non in solo rerum corporearum nitore, sed etiam in ipsis sordibus luctuosis esse posse jactantiam: & eo periculosiorem, quo sub nomine servitutis Dei decipit. *Claud. lib.* 1. *in Matth.*— [m] Εἰ τὰ ἡμέτερα καταλελοιπαμεν, πως τὰ ἀλλότρια ληψόμεθα; Euseb. lib. 1. hist. cap. ult.— [n] Qui nostra reliquimus, ut secundùm Evangelicam jussionem Dominum sequeremur, non debemus alienas amplecti divitias; ne fortè prævaricatores simus divini mandati —*Walafrid. Strab. vit. Galli. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.— [o] Alii hortum laboraverunt, alii arbores pomiferas excoluerunt. B. verò Gallus texebat retia, *&c* & de eodem labore assiduas populo benedictiones exhibuit. *Ibid. cap.* 6.— [p] Et primùm quidem permodicum ab eis panem, quo vesceretur, accipiebat, ac suo bibebat è fonte: postmodùm verò proprio manuum labore juxta exempla patrum vivere magis aptum ducebat. Rogavit ergo afferri sibi instrumenta quibus terram exerceret, & triticum quod sereret. *Bed. vit. Cuthbert pros. cap.* 19. *Vid. lib.* 4. *hist. Eccles. cap.* 28,

[q] *Quique suis cupiens Victum conquirere palmis;*
Incultam, pectentat humum procindere ferro,
Et sator edomitis anni spem credere glebis —*Id. in Car. de vit. Cuth. cap.* 17. —[r] *Id. lib.* 3. *hist. Eccles. cap.* 19.— [s] *Bonifac. in vitâ Livini, pag.* 240.— [t] *Theod. Campid. vit. Magni, lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. *edit. Goldasti,* 6 *Canisii.*— [u] Qui in monasteriis degunt, cum silentio operantes suum panem manducent. *Vit. Fursæi.* —[x] Jam enim istis in temporibus non poterit magnus aut mediocris in clero & populo aut vix cibum sumere, ubi tales non affuerint mendicantes: non more pauperum petentes ad portas vel ostia humiliter eleemosynam (ut Franciscus in Testamento præcepit & docuit) mendicando; sed curias, sive domos, sine verecundia penetrantes & inibi hospitantes, nullatenùs invitati, edunt & bibunt, quæ apud eos reperiunt, secum nihilominus aut grana, aut similam, aut panes aut carnes, seu caseos (etiamsi in domo non fuerint nisi duo) secum extorquendo reportant: nec eis quisquam poterit denegare, nisi verecundiam naturalem abjiciat. *Rich. Armachanus, in Defensorio Curatorum, pag.* 56, 57. *edit. Paris. an.* 1625 *(collat. cum vetere editione Ascensianâ)*— [y] Prima conclusio erat, quòd Dominus Jesus Christus in conversatione sua humana semper pauper erat, non quia propter se paupertatem dilexit aut voluit: *Ibid. pag.* 104, 105.— [z] Secunda conclusio erat, quòd

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Dominus noster Iesus Christus nunquam spontaneè mendicavit. *Ibid. pag.* 107.—[b] Tertia conclusio fuit: quod Christus nunquam docuit spontanee mendicare. *Ibid. pag.* 121 ——Quarta conclusio fuit: quod Dominus noster Iesus Christus docuit non debere homines spontaneè mendicare. *Ibid. pag.* 123. —[d] Quinta conclusio erat; quod nullus potest prudenter, & sanctè spontaneam mendicitatem super se assumere perpetuo asservandam, quoniam ex quo talis mendicitas vel mendicatio est dissuasa à Christo, à suis Apostolis & Discipulis, & ab Ecclesia ac sacris Scripturis, ac etiam reprobata: consequitur quod non potest prudenter & sancte assumi hoc modo. *Ibid. pag.* 131, *Vid. ejusd Richardi sermonem* 3 *apud Crucem Londin edit. Paris. an.* 1512 —[e] Quod fratres de quatuor ordinibus Mendicantium non sunt nec fuerent Domino inspirante instituti; sed contra Consilium generale Lateranense sub Innocentio Tertio celebratum, ac perficta & falsa somnia, Papa Honorius suasus a fratribus eos confirmavit *Act, contra Henr. Crumpe, in Thomæ Waldensis Fasciculo Zizaniorum, quem M* Sum *habeo.*—[f] Quod omnes Doctores determinantes pro parte fratrum è capitulo *Dudum*, vel timuerunt veritatem dicere, ne eorum libri per fratres Inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis damnarentur; vel dixerunt, ut videtur, vel solum disputativè processerunt: quia si plane veritatem pro Ecclesia dixissent, perseveruti eos fuissent Fratres, sicut persequebantur sanctum Doctorem Armachanum. *Ibid.*—[g] Tribus monachorum (qui suis sibi ipsi laboribus victum, manibus operando suppeditabant) millibus præfuisse creditur, *Nicol. Harpsfield. hist. Eccles. Angl. lib.* 1. *cap.* 25.—[h] Monachum oportet labore manuum suarum vesci & vestiri. *Vit. S. Brendani.*—[i] In quo tantus fertur fuisse numerus monachorum; ut cum in septem portiones esset cum præpositis sibi rectoribus monasterium divisum, nulla harum portio minus quam trecentos homines haberet: qui omnes de labore manuum suarum vivere solebant *Bed. lib.* 2. *histor Ecclesiast. cap.* 2 —[k] *Chronicle of Wales, page* 253, 254.— † *Vid Giral Hibern. à Camdeno edit. ad. an* 1370.— [l] Ad exemplum venerabilium Patrum, sub regula & Abbate canonico, in magna continentia & sinceritate proprio labore manuum vivunt. *Beb. lib.* 4. *hist. ecclesias. cap.* 4.— [m] Jure, inquit, est cœnobitarum vita miranda, qui Abbatis per omnia subjiciuntur imperiis; ad ejus arbitrium cuncta vigilandi, orandi, jejunandi, atque operandi tempora moderantur. *Bed. vit. Cuthbert. pros.* 2 *cap.* 22 —

[n] *Uxcubiasq: famemq: preces, manuumq: laborem,*
Ad nutum gaudent proni frænare regentis.—*Id. Carm cap* 20.

[o] Quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie reficiendum est, *Columb. Regul. cap.* 5. [p] Quia hæc est vera discretio, ut possibilitas spiritualis profectus cum abstinentia carnem macerante retententur. *Ibid.*—[q] Ideo quotidie edendum est, quia quotidie proficiendum est. *Ibid.* —[r] Si enim modum abstinentia excesserit, vitium non virtus erit. *Ibid* —[s] Cibus sit vilis & vespertinus Monachorum, satietatem fugiens & potus ebrietatem; ut & sustineat, & non noceat. *Ibid.*—[t] Synodus Hiberniensium dicit, in tribus quadragessimis anni in die Dominico & in quarta feria & sexta, conjugales continere se debent. *Canonum Collectio, cujus initium*;

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Sancta Synodus bis in anno decrevit habere Concilia. *M. S. in Bibliothecâ Cotton.*— [s] Si quis ante horam nonam quarta sextaque feria manducat, nisi infirmus; duos dies in pane & aqua. *Columban. lib. de quotidianis Pœnitent. monachor. cap.* 13.— [t] Cujus exemplis informati, tempore illo, religiosi quique viri ac fœminæ, consuetudinem fecerunt per totum annum, (excepta remissione quinquagesimæ Paschalis) quarta & sexta sabbati jejunium ad nonam usque horam protelare *Bed. lib.* 3. *hist. Eccles. cap.* 5.—[u] Quibus diebus cunctis, excepta Dominica, jejunium ad vesperam juxta morem protelans; nec tunc nisi panis permodicum, & unum ovum gallinaceum, cum parvo lacte aqua mixto percipiebat. *Ibid. cap* 23.—[x] Ostendens evidenter, filios sapientiæ intelligere, nec in abstinendo nec in manducando esse justitiam; sed in æquanimitate toleraudi inopiam, et temperantia per abundantiam non se corrumpendi, atque opportune sumendi vel non sumendi ea, quorum non usus sed concupiscentia reprehendenda est. *Claud. lib.* 2. *in Matth.*— [y] Sunt nonnulli, qui spiritualibus vitiis impugnantur; sed his omissis, corpus in abstinentia affligunt. *Vit. S. Fursei.*— [z] Multi enim cibis, quos Deus ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione creavit, abstinentes, hæc nefanda quasi licita sumunt; hoc est, superbiam, avaritiam, invidiam, falsum testimonium, blasphemiam, *Ibid.*— [a] *Gildas in Epistolis suis.* Hi dum pane ad mensuram vescuntur, pro hoc ipso sine mensura gloriantur, dum aquâ utuntur simul odii poculo potantur; dum siccis ferculis vescuntur, detractionibus utuntur; dum vigiliis expendunt, alios somno pressos vituperant: jejunium caritati, vigilias justitiæ, propriam adinventionem concordiæ, clausulam Ecclesiæ (al. Cellæ,) severitatem humilitati, postremò hominem Deo anteponunt. Horum jejunium, nisi per aliquas virtutes adsectatur, nihil prodest, qui verò caritatem perficiunt, cum cithara Spiritus sancti dicunt: Quasi pannus menstruatæ, omnes justitiæ nostræ sunt. *Ex libro Canonum* 66. Abstinentia corporalium ciborum sine charitate inutilis est.— [b] Meliores ergo sunt, qui non magnoperè jejunant, nec supra modum à creatura Dei abstinent, cor intrinsecùs nitidum coram Domino sollicite servantes, à quo sciunt exitum vitæ: quàm illi qui carnem non edunt, neq; Prandiis secularibus delectantur neq; vihiculis & equis vehuntur, pro his quasi superiores cæteris se putantes; quibus mors intravit per fenestras elationis. *Gild. ib.*

CHAPTER VII.

[a] HABET vineam universam scilicet Ecclesiam; quæ ab Abel justo usq; ad ultimum electum qui in fine mundi nasciturus est. quot sanctos protulit, quasi tot palmites misit. *Claud. lib* 2. *in Matth.*— [b] Congregatio quippe justorum, regnum cœlorum dicitur; quod est Ecclesia justorum. *Id. lib.* 3. *in Matth.*— [c] Ecclesiæ filii sunt omnes ab institutione generis humani usque nunc quotquot justi & sancti esse potuerunt. *Id. lib.* 2. *in Matth.*— [d] His & cæteris instruimur, tam Apostolos omnesque credentes,

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quàm ipsam quoque Ecclesiam, columnam in Scripturis appellari, & nihil interesse de corpore quid dicatur in membris, cum & corpus dividatur in membra, & membra sint corporis. *Id. in Gal. 2. ex Hieronymo.*—[e] Ecclesias vocat, quas posteà errore arguit depravatas. Ex quo noscendum, dupliciter Ecclesiam posse dici: & eam, quæ in Christi nomine absque plenis perfectisque virtutibus congregetur. *Id. in Galat. 1. ex eodem.*—[f] Ecclesiam non habituram maculam neque rugam dicitur, respectu futuræ vitæ. *Sedul. in Ephes. 1.*—[g] Magnum domum non Ecclesiam dicit (ut quidam putant) quæ non habet maculam neque rugam; sed mundum, in quo zizania sunt mixta tritico. *Id. in 2 Tim. 2.*—[h] Sancta Ecclesia decem Virginibus similis denuntiatur; in qua quia mali cum bonis & reprobi cum electis admixti sunt, rectè similis virginibus prudentibus & fatuis esse perhibetur. *Claud. lib. 3. in Matth.*—[i] Per has regis nuptias præsens Ecclesia designatur; in qua cum bonis & mali conveniunt. *Id. lib. eod.*—[k] In hac ergo Ecclesia, nec mali esse sine bonis, nec boni esse sine malis possunt: quos tamen sancta Ecclesia & nunc indiscretè suscipit, & postmodum in egressione discernit. *Id. ibid.*—[l] Exceptis paucis & valdè paucis, qui (ob amissionem tantæ multitudinis, quæ quotidie prona ruit ad Tartara) tam brevis numeri habentur; ut eos quodammodò venerabilis mater Ecclesia in suo sinu recumbentes non videat, quos solos veros filios habet. *Gild. epist.*—[m] Nonnunquam Ecclesia tantis gentilium pressuris, non solùm afflicta, sed & fœdita est; ut, si fieri possit, redemptor ipsius eam prorsus deseruisse ad tempus videretur. *Claud. lib. 2. in Matth.*—[n] Ecclesia non apparebit, impiis tunc persecutoribus ultra modum sævientibus. *Id. lib. 3. in Matth.*—[o] Temporibus Antichristi non solùm tormenta crebriora & acerbiora, quàm priùs consueverant, ingerenda sunt fidelibus; sed (quod gravius est) signorum quoq; operatio eos qui tormenta ingerunt, comitabitur: teste Apostolo, qui ait; Cujus est adventus secundùm operationem Satanæ, in omni seductione, signis & prodigiis mendacii. *Id. lib. eod.*—[p] Præstigiosis; sicut ante prædictum est; Dabunt signa, ita ut seducantur, si fieri potest, etiam electi, per phantasticam virtutem: sicut Jamnes et Mambres coram Pharaone fecerunt. *Sedul. in 2 Thes. 2.*—[q] Quis ergo ad fidem convertitur incredulus? cujus jam credentis non pavet & concutitur fides? quando persecutor pietatis fit etiam operator virtutis: idemque ipse qui tormentis sævit ut Christus negetur, provocat miraculis ut Antichristo credatur. *Claud. lib. 3. in Matth.*—[r] Quam ergo mundo et simplici oculo opus est, ut inveniatur via sapientiæ, cui tantæ malorum & perversorum hominum deceptiones erroresque obstrepunt? quas omnes necesse est evadere, hoc est, venire ad certissimam pacem, et immobilem stabilitatem sapientiæ. *Id. lib. 1. in Matth.*—[s] Nec si se Angelus nobis ostendat, ad seducendos nos subornatus fallaciis patris sui Diaboli, prævalere debebit adversum nos: neq; si virtus ab aliqno facta sit sicut dicitur à Simone Mago in aere volâsse. *Sedul. in Rom. 8.*—[t] Neque signa vos tereant tanquam per Spiritum facta: quia hoc & Salvator præmonuit. *Id. in 2 Thes. 2.*

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[a] Hic ostenditur, crescente fide signa cessare: quando fidelium causâ dadda esse prædicantur. *Id. in Corinth.* 14. [z] Unde nunc cùm fidelium numerositas excrevit, intra sanctam Ecclesiam multi sunt qui vitam virtutum tenent, &. signa virtutum non habent: quia frustra miraculum foris ostenditur, si deest quod intùs operetur. Nam juxta Magistri Gentium vocem: Lingua in signum sunt, non fidelibus sed infidelibus. *Claud. lib.* 1. *in Matth.*—[y] Qualia propter infideles cum fecerit Dominus, monuit tamen ne talibus decipiamur, arbitrantes ibi esse invisibilem sapientiam, ubi miraculum visibile viderimus. Adjungit ergo & dicit, Multi dicent mihi in illâ die, Domine, Domine; nonne in nomine tuo prophetavimus, & in tuo nomine dæmonia ejecimus, & in tuo nomine virtutes multas fecimus. *Id. lib. eod.*—[z] Ille Deum tentat, qui jactantiæ suæ vitio, superfluum & inutilem vult ostentare virtutem. Quid enim utilitatis habet, quid commodi confert, si præceps hinc in plena descendero? &c. *Id. lib. eod.*—[a] Inane est enim omne miraculum, quod utilitatem saluti non operatur humanæ. *Ibid.*—[b] *Amphiloch in Iambis ad Seleucum.*—[c] *Cogitos. Vit. Brigit. in exemplaribus M. S. antiquiss. Bibliothec. Cottonianæ & Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis.*—[d] *Tom.* 5. *Antiqu. lection. in lacunâ, sub finem, pag.* 629.—[e] Fundamenta.] Christum, & Apostolos, & Prophetas, *Sedul.* in *Hebr.* 11.—[f] Compertum est in petra vel lapide Christum esse significatum. *Id. in Rom.* 9.—[g] Apostoli fundamentum sunt, vel Christus fundamentum est Apostolorum. Christus est fundamentum, qui etiam lapis dicitur angularis, duos conjungens & continens parietes. Ideò hic fundamentum & summus est lapis; quia in ipso & fundatur, & consummatur Ecclesia.—*Id. in Ephes.* 2.—[h] Ut ministros Christi: non ut fundamentum. *Id. in* 1 *Cor.* 4.—[i] Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, id est, super Dominum salvatorem, qui fideli suo cognitori, amatori, confessori, participium sui nominis donavit, ut scilicet à petrâ Petrus vocaretur. Ædificatur Ecclesia: quia non nisi per fidem & dilectionem Christi, per susceptionem sacramentorum Christi, per observantiam mandatorum Christi, ad sortem electorum & æternam pertingitur vitam, Apostolo attestante qui ait; Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod positum est, qui est Christus Iesus. *Claud. lib.* 2. *in Matth.*—[k] Petrum solum nominat & sibi comparat: quia primatum ipse accepit ad fundandam Ecclesiam: se quoque pari modo electum, ut primatum habeat in fundandis Gentium Ecclesiis. *Id. in Galat.* 2.—[l] *Id in Galat.* 5.—[m] *Id in Galat.* 2.—[n] Ab his itaque probatum dicit donum quod accepit à Deo, ut dignus esset habere primatum in prædicatione Gentium, sicut & habeat Petrus in prædicatione Circumcisionis. *Id. in Gal.* 2.—[o] Gratiam sibi soli primus vendicat concessam à Deo, sicut & soli Petro concessa est inter Apostolos. *Id. ibid.*—[p] Non illi sum interior; quia ab uno sumus ambo in unum ministerium ordinati. *Id. ibid.*—[q] Apostolum se Christi titulo prænotavit, ut ex ipsâ lecturos hominis auctoritate terreret; judicans omnes, qui in Christo crederent, debere sibi esse subjectos. *Id. in Gal.* 1.—[r] Nam sicut interrogatis

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generaliter omnibus, Petrus respondit unus pro omnibus: ita quod Petro Dominus respondit, in Petro omnibus respondit. *Id. lib. 2. in Matth.*— [a] Quæ solvendi ac ligandi potestas, quamvis soli Petro data videatur à Domino; absque ullâ tamen dubietate noscendum est, quia & cæteris Apostolis datur: ipso teste, qui post passionis resurrectionisque suæ triumphum apparens eis insufflavit, & dixit omnibus: Accipite Spiritum sanctum, quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis, & quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt. *Id. lib. eod.*— [b] Vero sacerdoti dicitur: Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam. *Gild. epist.*— [c] Petro ejusque successoribus dicit Dominus: Et tibi dabo Claves regni cœlorum. *Ibid.*— [d] Itemque omni sancto sacerdoti promittitur: Et quæcunque solveris super terram, erunt & in cœlo: & quæcunque ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata & in cœlo. *Ibid.*— [e] Apostolicam sedem legitimè obtinent. *Ibid.*— [f] Si hanc vos Apostoli retinetis in omnibus affectum; ejus quoque cathedræ legitimè insidere noscatis. *Ibid.*— [g] Sedem Petri Apostoli immundis pedibus usurpantes; sed merito cupiditatis in Judæ traditoris pestilentem cathedram decidentes. *Ibid.*— [h] Judam quodammodo in Petri cathedrâ Domini traditorem statuunt. *Ibid.*— [i] Super ipsos Ecclesiæ sit positum fundamentum. *Claud. in Gal.* 2.— [k] Constans in Dei timore, & fide immobilis, super quem ædificatur ut Petrum Ecclesia: cujusque Apostolatum à Deo sortitus est, & inferni portæ adversus eum non prævalebunt. *Hymn. in laud. S. Patricii.*— [l] Christus illum sibi elegit in terris Vicarium. *Ibid.*— [m] Brianus rex Hiberniæ, Parasceve Paschæ, sextâ feriâ, ix. Calend. Maii, manibus & mente ad Deum intentus necatur. *Marian. Scot. See Caradoc of Llancarvan, in the Chronicle of Wales. pag.* 80.— [n] Sanctus Patricius iens ad cœlum, mandavit totum fructum laboris sui (tam baptismi, tam causarum, quàm eleemosynarum) deserendum esse Apostolicæ Urbi, quæ Scoticè nominatur Ardmacha. Sic repperi in Bibliothecis Scotorum. Ego Scripsi, id est, Calvus Perennis in conspectu Briani Imperatoris Scotorum. *Ex. Vet. Cod. Ecclesiæ Armachanæ.*— [o] Domino semper suo, & Apostolico Patri, Desiderio Papæ. *Gallus peccator.*— [p] *Cogitos. in vit. Brigid. tom. 5. antiqu. lect. Henr. Canisii, pag.* 625. *lin. ult.*— [q] *Ibid. pag.* 610. *lin* 2.

CHAPTER VIII.

[a] *EDM. Comp. History of* Ireland. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.— [b] Pallio decoravit, illique vices suas committens atque legatum suum constituens, quæcunque in Hibernia gesserat, constituerat, disposuerat, auctoritatis suæ munimine confirmavit. *Jocelin. vit. Patr. cap.* 166.— [c] Metropoliticæ sedi deerat adhuc, & defuerat ab initio pallii usus. *Bernard. vit. Malach.*— [d] Anno 1151. Papa Eugenius quatuor pallia per legatum suum Johannem Papiram transmisit in Hiberniam, quò nunquam antèa pallium delatum fuerat. *Annal. Cœnobii Melros. M. S. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.*— [e] Apud Ardmacham sibi sedem elegit;

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quam etiam quasi metropolim constituit & proprium totius Hiberniæ primatiæ locum. *Girald. Cambr. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. cap.* 16.—[f] Archiepiscopi verò in Hibernià nulli fuerant; sed tantùm se Episcopi invicem consecrabant; donec Johannes Papyrio Romanæ sedis legatus, non multis retro annis advenit. Hic quatuor pallia in Hiberniam portavit, &c. *Ibid cap.* 17,—[g] Hic primus Archiepiscopus dicitur, quia primo pallio usus est. Alii verò ante ipsum solo nomine Archiepiscopi & Primates vocabantur; ob reverentiam & honorem Sancti Patricii, tanquam Apostoli illius gentis. *Pembrigius, author. Annal. Hibern. à Guil. Camdeno, edit. Thomas. Caseus in Chronic. Hibern. M. S. ad ann.* 1174.—[h] Episcopi quoque (qui debent esse forma & exemplum aliis Canonicæ religionis) inordinatè, sicut audivimus, aut à solis Episcopis, aut in locis ubi ordinari non debent, consecrantur. *Anselm. lib. 3. epist.* 142.—[i] *Dicitur*, ab uno Episcopo Episcopum, sicut quemlibet presbyterum ordinari. *Id. ibid. epist.* 147.—[k] Terdeluacho inclyto Regi Hiberniæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Proceribus, omnibusq; Christianis Hiberniam inhabitantibus. *Gregor.* VII. *epist. ad Hibern. M. S. in Bibliothecâ Cotton.*—[l] Ecclesias fundavit CCCLXV. ordinavit Episcopos eodem numero CCCXLV. Presbyteros autem usque ad tria millia ordinavit. *Nenn. histor. Britt M. S.*—[m] Mutabantur & multiplicabantur Episcopi pro libitu Metropolitani; ita ut unus Episcopatus uno non esset contentus, sed singulæ penè Ecclesiæ singulos haberent Episcopos. *Bernard. vit. Malach*—[n] Quòd in villis, vel civitatibus plures ordinantur. *Lanfranc. Epist. ad Terdeluachum regem. apud. Baron. ann.* 1089. *num.* 16.—[o] Dicitur, Episcopos in terrâ vestrâ passim elegi, & sine certo Episcopatus loco constitui. *Anselm. lib. 3. epist.* 147. *ad Muriardachum regem. Hibern.*—[p] Rex Engus & S. Patricius, cum omni populo ordinaverunt Archiepiscopatum Mumeniæ in civitate & in sede sancti Albei, qui tunc ab eisdem Archiepiscopus ordinatus est, per seculum. *Ex vitâ S. Declani.* Rex Engus & Patricius ordinaverunt, ut in civitate & cathedrâ sancti Albei esset Archiepiscopatus omnium Memonensium semper. *Ex vitâ S. Albei.*—[q] Factâ Synodo magnâ in terrâ Laginensium, decrevit rex Brandubh, & tam laici quàm clerici, ut Archiepiscopatus omnium Laginensium semper esset in sede & cathedrâ sancti Moedog. Et tunc sanctus Moedog à multis catholicis consecratus est Archiepiscopus. *Ex vit. S. Edani.* A rege jam Laginensium Brandubh filio Æthach constitutum est, ut Archiepiscopatus Laginensium in civitate sancti Moedog esset. Ipsa civitas vocatur Ferna, quæ est in terrâ gentis Kenselach. *Ex. vit. S. Molyng.*—[r] Erat & altera Metropolitica sedes, quam de novo constituerat Celsus, primæ tamen sedi & illius Archiepiscopo subdita tanquam primati. *Bernard. in vita Malachiæ.*—[s] Illo defuncto, Rex Calomagnus, & ejus Palatinorum chorus cum suis subaulicis, totiusque regionis illius confluentiâ pari cordis affectu conclamaverunt, sanctum Sacerdotem Livinum in honorem hujus ordinis dignissimè sublimandum fore. His Rex omnibus devotior consentiens, ter quaterque beatum virum in cathedra Archiepiscopatus debito honore, De-

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mino jubente, collocavit. *Bonifac. vit. Livin.*—[t] Rex Ecgfridus Episcopum fecit ordinari Lindisfarnensium ecclesiæ virum sanctum & venerabilem Cudbertum. *Bed. lib. 4. hist. cap. 27. & Vit. Cuthbert. cap. 24.*—[u] Episcopatum Salzbergensem, pro debitò regiæ magnificentiæ, sancto concessit Virgilio. *Vit. Episc. Salisburgens. tom. 2. Antiq. lect. Henr. Canis. pag. 259 & tom 6. pag. 1174.*—[x] *Walafrid Strab. Vit. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 16, 17, 19, 20.*—[y] *Theodor. Campidonens. vel quicunque author fuit vitæ Magni, lib. 1. cap. 8. edit. Goldasti, 10. Canisii.*—[z] *In the Laws of* Howel Dha *it is named* Ecclesia Teilau *: and so in* Caradoc *of* Lhancarvan's *Chronicle of* Wales, *pag. 94.* Joseph *is called* Bishop *of* Teilo, *or* Landaff.—[a] Super omnes Brittanos dextralis partis Britanniæ B. Dubricium summum Doctorem, à Rege & ab omni parochiâ electum Archiepiscopum, consecraverunt: Hâc dignitate ei à Germano & Lupo data, constituerunt ei Episcopalem sedem concessu Mourici Regis, Principum, Cleri & populi, apud Podium Lantavi. *Lib. Ecclesiæ, Landavensis, M. S.*—[b] Electione Cleri & populi succedit in Episcopatu Landavensis Ecclesiæ electione cleri Mereguini & Elgoreti & Gunnuini magistri; & trium Abbatum, Catgen abbatis Ilduti, Concenn abbatis Catmaili, Cetnig abbatis Docguinni; laicorum, Regis Mourici, & filiorum Athruis & Idnerth, Guidgen & Cetiau, Brogmail, Gendoc, Louhonerd, Catgualatyr, & omnium principum totius parochiæ. Missus est S. Oudoceus cum clericis suis prædictis (Merchui & Elguoret & Gunubui) cum legatis trium Abbatum & Regis & Principum, ad Doroberneusem civitatem ad beatum Archiepiscopum; ubi sacratus est Ecclesiæ Landaviæ in honore S. Petri fundatæ. *Ibid.*—[b] DCCCCLXXXII. (vel DCCCLXXII. potiùs) Incarnationis Domini anno, Gucaunus Episcopus Landaviæ consecratus à Metropolitano Dunstano Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopo, datâ sibi virgâ pastorali in regali curiâ à summo Rege Anglorum Ætgaro. *Ibid.*—[c] DCCCCLXXXIII. anno, electione factâ regum Morcannuc, Ouenin, videlicet & Idgualiaun, Catell & Cimin filiorum Morchanthen, Rotri & Grifud filiorum Elired, & totius Cleri & populi Morcannuc infra hortum Taratir in Gui & hortum Tivi positi; & dato sibi baculo in regali curiâ à summo Rege Anglorum Adelredo, & à metropolitano Dorobernensis Ecclesiæ Aibrico Archiepiscopo, Bledri Episcopus Landaviæ consecratus est; & 1022°. anno incarnationis Domini, ordinationis suæ autem 39°. anno migravit ad Dominum. *Ibid.*—[d] MXXII. an. Incarnationis Domini, consecratus est Joseph Episcopus Landaviæ, Cantuariæ à metropolitano Dorobornensis Ecclesiæ Ælnod Archiepiscopo, in Kalendis Octobris, & in primo (vel XVI. potius) anno Cycli decennovennalis, verbo Regis Anglorum Cnute, & dato sibi baculo in Curiâ illius: electione populi & cleri Landaviæ, & regum Britanniæ, regis videlicet Riderch regnantis per totam Gualiam tunc tempore, & Hivel subregu'i regis Morcanuc infra hortum Taratir in Gui & hortum Tivi regnantis. *Ibid.*—[e] *Edm. Campion. Histor. Hibern. lib. 1. cap. ult. ad annum* 948.—[f] *Girald.*

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Cambrens. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. cap. 43.— [k] Eodem tempore Norwagenses sivd Ostmanni, qui civitates Hiberniæ & maritima occupaverunt, Normanni vocari sunt. *Annal. Dublin. ad ann.* 1095.— [l] Dominus Johannes Paprion legatus Romanæ Ecclesiæ veniens in Hiberniam, invenit *Dublin* Episcopum habentem, quæ tantùm intra muros Episcopale officium exercebat. *Testimon. Tramens. Archiepisc. in Registro, Dublin. Archiepisc. & nigro libro Ecclesiæ S. Trinitatis.*— [k] Ad regimen Dublinensis Ecclesiæ Lanfrancus Archiepiscopus Cantuariæ, petente Goderico rege, Dubliniensis Ecclesiæ populo & clero consentientibus & eligentibus, in Ecclesiâ sancti Pauli Londin. Patricium sacravit Antistitem. *Annal. Dublin. ad annum* 1074.— [l] *Habentur apud Baron. an.* 1089. *num.* 12. & 15.— [m] Anno Dom. 1085, Lanfrancus Archiepiscopus Cantuar, ad regimen Dublinensis, Ecclesiæ sacravit , Donatum monasterii sui monachum in sede metropoli Cantuar. petentibus atque eligentibus eum Terdeluaco Hiberniæ Rege, & Episcopis Hiberniæ regionis, atque clero & populo præfatæ civitatis. *Annal. Dublin.*— [n] A Rege Hiberniæ, Murierdach nomine, necnon à clero & populo in Episcopatum ipsius civitatis electus est; atque ad Anselmum, juxta morem antiquum, sacrandus cum communi decreto directus. *Eadmer. Histor. Novor. lib. 2. pag.* 34.— [o] *Ibid. pag.* 36,— [p] Nos & Rex noster Murcherdachus, & Episcopus Dofnaldus, & Dermeth Dux noster frater Regis, elegimus hunc Presbyterum Malchum, Walkelini Wintoniensis Episcopi Monachum, nobis sufficientissimè cognitum, &c.——— [q] *Henricus Rex Angliæ, Radulpho Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, salutem.* † *Mandavit mihi Rex Hiberniæ per Breve suum, & Burgenses* Dubliniæ, *quod elegerunt hunc Gregorium in Episcopum, & eum tibi mittunt consecrandum. Unde tibi mando, ut petitioni eorum sati faciens, ejus consecrationem sine delatione expleas. Teste Ranulpho Cancellario apud Windelsor.*——— [r] Sciatis vos verè, quod Episcopi Hiberniæ maximum Zelum erga nos habent, & maximè ille Episcopus qui habitat Ardimachæ: quia nos nolumus obedire eorum ordinationi, sed semper sub vestro dominio esse volumus. *M. S. ad calcem Collectionis Isidori Mercatoris, in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.*— [s] Charta *S.* Patricii, *in Gulielmi Malmsburiensis libello de Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ. M. S.*— [t] In scriptis resentioribus inveni quòd sancti Phaganus & Deruvianus perquisierant ab Eleuthario Papâ, qui eos miserat, X. (*al.* XXX.) annos indulgentiæ. Et ego frater Patricius piæ memoriæ Celestino Papâ XII. annos tempore meo acquisivi. *Ibid.*— [u] Patricius ait. Si quæ quæstiones in hâc insulâ oriuntur, ad sedem Apostolicam referantur. *Vet. Collect. Canonum. Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ*, cujus initium: Synodi

† *Ut apud Græcos* κολεύω *non est semper* δεσποτικαι λεξις, *quemadmodum ait Iliad.* λ *notatum est ab Eustathio (pag.* 884. *&* 831. *edit. Roman.) sed aliquando respondet τω* αξιουν *vel τω* σημαινειν: *ita & vox* Mando, *apud Latinos mediæ ætatis scriptores, ut apud Vincentium, verbi gratiâ, lib.* 30, *Specul. Historial. cap.* 15. (humiliter ei mandaverunt.) *& hoc in loco.*

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eorum exemplarium innumerositatem conspiciens.— [a] Quæcunque causa valdè difficilis exorta fuerit, atque ignota cunctis Scotorum Gentium judiciis; ad Cathedram Archiepiscopi Hibernensium (id est, Patricii) atque hujus antistitis examinationem rectè referenda. Si verò in illâ, cum suis sapientibus, facile sanari non poterit talis causa prædictæ negotiationis: ad sedem Apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam; id est, ad Petri Apostoli Cathedram, auctoritatem *Romæ* Urbis habentem. Hi sunt qui de hoc decreverunt: Id est, Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus. *Vet. Codex Eccles Armachanæ.*— [x] *Copping. Mnemosynum to the Catholics of* Ireland, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 3. — [y] *Gregor. lib.* 2. *epist.* 36. *Indict.* 10 — [z] Ardentissimo studio pro trium Capitulorum defensione, junctis animis omnes qui in Hibernia erant Episcopi, insurrexere. Addiderunt & illud nefas, ut cùm percepissent Romanam Ecclesiam æquè suscepisse. Trium damnationum capitulorum, atque suo consensu Quintam Synodum roborâsse: ab eâdem pariter resilierint, atque reliquis qui vel in *Italiâ*, vel in *Africâ*, aliisve regionibus erant schismaticis inhæserint; fiduciâ illâ vanâ erecti, quòd pro fide Catholicâ starent, cùm quæ essent in Concilio Chalcedonènsi statuta defenderent. *Baron. Annal. tom.* 7. *an.* 566, *num.* 21.— [a] Sed eo fixius inhærerit errori, cum quæcunque Italia passa sit bellorum motibus, fame, vel pestilentiâ, eâ ex Chalcedonense Consilium prælium susceperisset.— [b] Prima itaq; epistolæ vestræ frons, gravem vos pati persecutionem innotuit. [c] Quæ quidem persecutio dum non rationabiliter sustinetur, nequaquam proficit ad salutem. *Gregor. Regest. lib.* 2. *epist.* 36.— [c] Dum igitur ita sit, incongruum nimis est de ea vos, quam dicitis, persecutione gloriari; per quam vos constat ad æterna præmia minimè provehi. *Ibid.*— [d] Quod autem scribitis, quia ex illo tempore inter alias provincias maximè flagelletur Italia; non hoc ad ejus debetis intorquere opprobrium: quoniam scriptum est; Quem diligit Dominus, castigat, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit *Ibid.* — [e] Porrò autem si post hujus libri lectionem in ea qua estis, voluerit is deliberatione persistere; sine dubio non ratione operam, sed obstinationi vos dare monstratis. *Ibid* — [f] *Vid. Roman. Corpor. Gratian. De consecrat. distinct* 4. *cap.* 144. Ab antiqua.— [g] Quando verò Doctores Ibernici de gravibus fidei quæstionibus minimè consentiebant, vel aliquid novi dogmatis peregre allati audiebant; soliti erant Romanum Pontificem veritatis Oraculum consulere *Philip Osullevan. Bear. hist. Catholic. Ibern. tom.* 1. *lib* 4. *cap.* 6.— [h] Namque de tempore agendi Paschatis solennia (de quo aliæ quoque Catholicæ gentes sæpe ambigerunt) & de Pelagianâ hæresi ubi fuit in quæstionem disputationemque deducta: Doctores Iberni ad Sedem Apostolicam retulerunt. Ac ita miseri Pelagii error nullum in Ibernia patronum vel assertorem invenisse fertur; vel insulæ aditu interclusus, vel ab ea protinus explosus, ubi contagiosam faciem aperuit, seseque cognoscendum præbuit: & ratio communis & ab Ecclesia usitata celebrandi redivivi Domini festum ab Australibus Iberus fuit semper observata; & à Septentrionalibus quoque & Pictis & Britonibus, qui Doctoribus Ibernis fidem acceperunt, amplexa, ubi

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Ecclesiæ Romanæ ritum cognoverunt. Quod ex Apos[illegible]rum literarum duplici capite à Beda relato non obscure constat. *Ibid.*— Hibernia siquidem olim Pelagianâ fœdata fuerat hæresi, Apostolicaque censura damnata, quæ nisi Romano judicio solvi non poterat. *Author antiqu. Vit. Kilian.*

CHAPTER IX.

[a] NON enim Paschæ diem Dominicum suo tempore sed à decimaquarta usque ad vicessimam Lunam observant. Quæ computatio 84. annorum circulo continetur. *Bede lib. 2. hist. cap. 2.*—[b] Porrò isti secundùm decennem novemque Anatolii computatum, aut potiùs juxta Sulpicii Severini regulam, qui LXXXIV. annorum cursum descripsit, XIV. Lunâ cum Judæis Paschale sacramentum celebrant; cum neutrum Ecclesiæ Romanæ Pontifices ad perfectam calculi rationem sequantur. *Aldelm. epist. ad Geruntium regem & Domnonios; inter epistolas Bonifacii, num 44.*—[c] *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 3. & 25. Vid. Dyonisii Petavii notas in Epiphan. pag.* 194. 495.—[d] Ad veram Paschæ rationem nunquam pervenire eos, qui cyclum LXXXIV. annorum observant. *Cummian. epist. ad Segienum abbat. de Disputatione Lunæ. M. S. in Bibliothec. Cottonian.*—[e] Exhortans, ne paucitatem suam in extremis terræ finibus constitutam, sapientiorem antiquis sive modernis, quæ per Orbem terræ erant, Christi Ecclesiis æstimarent: neve contra Paschales computos, & decreta synodalium totius Orbis Pontificum aliud Pascha celebrarent. *Bed. lib. 2. hist. cap.* 19.—[*] *St.* Patrick *and his Followers.*—[f] *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap.* 5.—[g] *Id. lib. 2. cap.* 19.—[h] Ego enim primo anno quo cyclus DXXXII. annorum à nostris celebrari orsus est; non suscepi, sed silui nec laudare nec vituperare ausus. *Cummian. epist. ad Segienum.*—[i] Sed non post multum surrexit quidam paries dealbatus, traditionem seniorem servare se simulans; qui utraque non fecit unum, sed divisit, & irritum ex parte fecit quod promissum est: quem Dominus ut spero, percutiet quoquo modo voluerit. *Ibid.*—[k] Seniores verò, quos in velamine repulsionis habetis, quod optimum in diebus suis esse noverunt simpliciter & fideliter sine culpa contradictionis ullius & animositatis observaverunt, & suis posteris sic mandaverunt. *Ibid.*—[l] Universalis Ecclesiæ Catholicæ unanimem regulam. *Ibid.* [m] Roma errat, Hierosolyma errat, Alexandria errat, Antiochia errat, totus mundus errat; soli tantum Scoti & Britones rectum sapiunt. *Ibid.*—[*] *This seemeth to have fallen out either in the Year* 634, *or* 645. *wherein* Easter *was solemnized at* Rome *the* 24. *day of* April, *and it appeared by our Annals, that* Segenius *was Abbot of* Y-Columkille *from the Year* 624 *until* 652.—[m] Vidimus oculis aperientem, & paralyticum ambulantem, & multa dæmonia ejecta. *Cummian.*—[n] Intellexerat enim veraciter Oswi, quamvis educatus à Scotis, quia Romana esset Catholica & Apostolica Ecclesia. *Bed. lib. 3, hist. cap. 29.*—[*] Sed

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cognoscentes Britones, Scottos verò per Daganum Episcopum in hanc insulam, & Columbanum Abbatem in Gallis venientem, nihil discrepare à Brionibus in eorum conversatione didicimus. Nam Daganus Episcopus ad nos veniens, non solùm cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur, sumere voluit. *Laurent. apud Bed. lib. 2. cap. 4.* — [s] Qui cujus meriti fuerit, etiam miraculorum signis internus arbiter edocuit. *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 15. It. 16. & 17.* — [t] Nunquid reverendissimum patrem nostrum Columbam, & Successores ejus, viros Deo dilectos, qui eodem modo Pascha fecerunt, divinis paginis contraria sapuisse vel egisse credendum est? cum plurimi fuerint in eis, quorum sanctitati cœlesti signa & virtutem quæ fecerunt miracula, testimonium præbuerunt: quos ut ipse sanctos esse non dubitans semper eorum vitam, mores & disciplinam sequi non desisto. *Colman. apud Bed. lib. 3. cap. 29.* — [u] Revelante Spiritu Sancto prophetavit de illa quæ post dies multos ob diversitatem Paschalis festi orta est inter Scotiæ Ecclesias discordia. *Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. 1. cap. 3.* — [x] Quodam tempore erat magnum Concilium populorum Hiberniæ in Campo albo: inter quos erat contentio circa ordinem Paschæ; Lasreanus enim abbas monasterii Leighlinne, cui suberant mille quingenti monachi, novum ordinem defendebat qui nuper de Roma venit; alii verò veterem defendebant. *Vit. S. Munna abbatis M. S.* — [y] Obsecremus Deum, qui habitare fecit unanimes in domo patris sui, ut ipse nobis insinuare cœlestibus signis dignetur, quæ sequenda traditio, quibus fit viis ad ingressum regni illius properandum. Adducatur aliquis æger; & per cujus preces fuerit curatus, hujus fides & operatio Deo devota atque omnibus sequenda credatur. *Bed. lib. 2. hist. cap. 2.* — [z] Breviter disputemus: sed in nomine Domini agamus judicium. Tres optiones dantur tibi, Lasreane. Duo libri in ignem mittentur, liber veteris ordinis & novi; ut videamus, quis eorum de igne liberabitur. Vel duo monachi, unus meus alter tuus, in unam domum recludantur, & domus comburatur: & videbimus, quis ex iis evadat intactus igne. Aut eamus ad sepulchrum mortui justi monachi, & resuscitemus eum; & indicet nobis, quo ordine debemus hoc anno Pascha celebrare. *Vit. St. Munnæ.* — [a] Non ibimus ad judicium tuum, quoniam scimus quòd, pro magnitudine laboris tui & sanctitatis, si diceres ut mons Marge commutaretur in locum Campi albi & Campus albus in locum montis Marge; hoc propter te Deus statim faceret. *Ibid.* [b] *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 26.* — [c] Quodam tempore in diebus Colmanni Eboracæ civitatis Episcopi metropolitani, regnantibus Oswi & Alhfrido filio ejus, Abbates & Presbyteri omnesque Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ gradus simul in unum convenientes, in cœnobio quæ Streanshcal dicitur; præsente sanctimoniale matre piissimâ Hilde, præsentibus quoque Regibus & duobus Colmanno & Ægilberhto Episcopis, de Paschali ratione conquirerent, quid esset rectissimum, utrum more Brittonum & Scottorum omnisque Aquilonalis partis à XIV. Lunâ Dominicâ die veniente usq; ad XXII. (*leg.* XX.) Pascha agendum; an melius sit ratione Sedis Apostolicæ, à XV. Paschalem Do-

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minicam celebrandam. Tempus datum est Colmanno Episcopo primum, ut dignum, erat, audientibus cunctis reddere rationem. Ille autem intrepidâ mente respondens, dixit; Patres nostri & Ancestores eorum manifestè spiritu sancto inspirati, ut erat Columcille, XIV. Lunâ die Dominicâ Pascha celebrandum sanxerunt: exemplum tenentes Jahannis Apostoli & Evangelistæ, qui supra pectus Domini in Cœna recubuit, & amator Domini dicebatur. Ille XIV. Lunâ Pascha celebravit; & nos, sicut discipuli ejus Polycarpus & alii, celebramus: nec hoc audemus pro patribus (*fort.* partibus) nostris, nec volumus mutare. *Stephanus presbyter (qui & Æddi, apud Bedam, lib. 4, hist. cap. 2) in Vitâ Wilfrid. cap.* 10. *M. S. in Bibliothecâ Sarisburiensis Ecclesiæ, & D. Roberti Cottoni.*— [d] Pascha hoc quod agere soleo, à majoribus meis accepi, qui me hnc Episcopum miserunt: quod omnes patres nostri viri Deo dilecti eodem modo celebrâsse noscuntur. Quod ne cui contemnendum & reprobandum esse videatur: ipsum est quod beatus Johannes Evangelista, discipulus specialiter Domino dilectus, cum omnibus quibus præerat Ecclesiis, celebrâsse legitur. *Colman. apud Bedam. lib.* 3. *hist. cap.* 25.

[c] *Nos seriem patriam, non frivola scripta tenemus,*
Discipulo * *Eusebii* Polycarpo, *dante* Johannis.
Ille etenim bis septenæ, sub tempore Phœbæ
Sanctum præfixit nobis fore Pascha colendum,
Atque nefas dixit, si quis contrariâ sentit.—Frid. Vit. Wilf. M. S. in Bibl. Cot.

— [f] Cum quibus de duabus ultimis Oceani insulis, his non totis contra totum Orbem stulto labore pugnant. *Wilf apud Bed. l.* 3. *c.* 25.— [g] Et si sanctus erat aut potens virtutibus ille Columba vester, imo & noster si Christi erat: num præferri potuit beatissimo Apolostolorum principi? cui Dominus ait; Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, & portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam; Et tibi dabo Claves regni Cœlorum. *Ibid.*— [h] Ne fortè me adveniente ad fortes regni cœlorum, non sit qui reseret, averso illo qui claves tenere probatur. *Ibid.*— [i] Tonsuram & Paschæ rationem propter timorem patriæ suæ contempsit. *Steph. Presb. in Vit. Wilf. c.* 10.— [k] Colman videns spretam suam doctrinam, sectamque esse despectam; assumptis his qui se sequi voluerunt, id est, qui Pascha catholicum & tonsuram coronæ (nam & de hoc quæstio non minima erat) recipere nolebant, in Scotiam regressus est. *Bed. l.* 3. *hist. c.* 26. *Vide etiam l.* 4, *c.* 4.

CHAPTER X.

PASCHALEM rationem, quam schismatici Brittaniæ & Hiberniæ non cognoverunt; & alias multas Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ regulas Bonifacius

* *i. Sancti vel Beati.*

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archdiaconus quasi proprio filio suo diligenter dictavit. *Steph. presb. vit. Wilf. cap* 5. & *Bed. l.* 5. *c.* 20 — [b] Se primum fuisse, qui verum Pascha in Northanimbriâ Scotis ejectis docuerit, quicantus Ecclesiasticos antiphonarium instituerit, qui sanctissimi Benedicti regulam à monachis observari jusserit. *Gul. Malms. lib.* 3. *de ges. Pont. Angl.*— [c] Sed perstitirit ille negare; ne ab Episcopis Scottis, vel ab iis quos Scotti ordinaverunt, consecrationem susciperet, quorum communionem sedes aspernarentur Apostolica. *Id. ibid.*— [d] O Domini venerabiles Reges; omnibus modis nobis necessarium est providè considraere, quomodo cum electione vestra, sine accusatione catholicorum virorum, ad gradum Episcopalem cum Dei adjutorio venire valeam. Sunt enim hic in Britaniâ multi Episcopi, quorum nullum meum est accusare, quamvis veraciter sciam, quòd ant quatuordecim anni sunt, ut Britones & Scotti ab illis sunt ordinati, quos nec Apostolica sedes in communionum recipit, neque eos qui schismaticis consentiunt. Et ideò in mea humilitate à vobis posco, ut me mittatis cum vestro præsidio trans mare ad Galliarum regionem, ubi catholici Episcopi multi habentur: ut sine controversia apostolicæ sedis, licèt indignus, gradum Episcopalem merear accipere. *Steph. Pr. Vit. Wilf. cap.* 12.— [e] Quo ultra mare moras nectente Oswius Rex, præventus concilio Quartadecianorum (quia Pascha in quartadecima Lunâ cum Judæis celecelebrabant) Ceddam virum sanctissimum, tamen contra regulas, intrusit tribunali Eboracensi. *Gul. Mal. lib. de gest. Pontif. Angl.*— [f] Ordinantes serum Dei religiosissimum & admirabilem Doctorem, de Hibernia insula venientem nomine Cœodda, adhuc eo ignorante, in sedem Episcopalem Euroicæ civitatis indoctè contra canones constituerunt. *Steph. presb. Vit. Wilf. cap.* 14.

> [g] *Constituunt etenim perverso canone* Ceaddam,
> *Moribus acclinem, doctrinæ robore fortem,*
> *Præsulis eximii servare cubilia: sicque*
> *Audacter vivo sponsam rapuere marito.*

[h] Ab illo est consecratus antistes, assumptis in societatem ordinationis duobus de Britonum gente Episcopis, qui Dominicum Paschæ diem secus morem canonicum à XIV. usque ad XXI. Lunam celebrant. Non enim erat tunc ullus, excepto illo Wini, in tota Britannia canonice ordinatus Episcopus. *Bed. lib.* 3. *hist cap.* 28.— [i] Cum illis autem qui ab unitate catholicæ pacis, vel Pascha non suo tempore celebrando, vel perversè vivendo aberrant, vobis sit nulla communio, &c. *Id. in Vit. Cuthbert, cap.* 39.— [k] *Institutio dicit. Rom.* Cavendum est ne ad alias provincias aut ecclesias referantur causæ, quæ alio more & aliâ religione utantur: sive ad Judæos, qui umbræ legis magis quàm veritati deserviunt; ant Britones, qui omnibus contraris sunt, & à Romano more & ab unitate Ecclesiæ se absciderunt; ant Hæreticos, quamvis sicut in Ecclesiasticis causis docti, & studiosi fuerint. *Ex Cod. Can. Cot tit.* 66.— [l] Qui ordinati sunt à Scottorum vel Brittannorum Episcopis, qui in Pascha vel Tontura Catholicæ non, sunt adunati Ecclesiæ

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iterùm à Catholico Episcopo manus impositione confirmentur. Similiter & Ecclesiæ quæ ab illis Episcopus ordinantur, aquâ exorcizatâ aspergantur, & aliquâ collectione confirmentur. Licentiam quoque non habemus eis poscentibus Chrismam vel Eucharistiam dare, ni antè confessi fuerint velle se nobiscum esse in unitate Ecclesiæ. Et qui ex horum similiter gente, vel quacunque, de baptismo suo dubitaverint, baptizentur. *Decret. Pontific. M. S. cap.* 9. De communicatione Scottorum & Brittonum, qui in Paschâ & Tonsurâ catholici non sunt.— [m] *Bed. lib.* 2. *hist. cap.* *, Septem Brittonum Episcopi, & plures viri doctissimi, maximè, de nobilissimo eorum monasterio, quod vocatur linquâ Anglorum Bancornaburg, cui Dinoot abbas præfuisse narratur. *Bed. lib.* 2. *hist. cap.* 2.— [n] Illi nihil horum se facturos, neque illum pro Archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant. *Id. ibid.* Tam ipsum quàm ejus statuta, statim reversi spreverunt: nec ipsum pro Archiepiscopo se habituros publicè proclamabant. *Girald. Cambrens. lib.* 2. *cap.* 1.— [o] *In a Welsh Manuscript, sometime belonging unto* P. Mostein *Gentleman.*— [p] Auctorizabant suas ceremonias non solùm à sancto Eleutherio Papâ primo institutore suo ab ipsâ penè infantiâ Ecclesiæ dicatas, verùm à sanctis patribus suis Dei amicis & Apostolorum sequacibus hactenùs observatas; quas non deberent mutare propter novos dogmatistas. *Goscelin monachus, in vit. Augustini, cap.* 32, *M. S. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.*— [q] Si quilibet de nostris, id est, Catholicis ad eos habitandi gratiâ perrexirent; non priùs ad consortium sodalitatis suæ adsciscere dignantur, quàm quadraginta dierum spatia in pœnitendo peragere compellantur. *Aldhelm. epist. ad Domnonios.*— [r] Quippe cùm usque hodie moris sit Britonum, fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis magis communicare quàm paganis. *Bed. lib.* 2. *hist. cap.* 20.

* *Gwae'r offeiriad byd*
Nys engreisstia gwyd
Ac ny phregetha:
Gwae ny chsidw ey gail
Ac nys areilia:
Gwae ny cheidw ey dheuaid
Rhac bleidhie, Rhufeiniaid
A'iffon gnwppa.

† *Adde* ‡ *quòd & patres ausi taxare Latinos;*
Causabantur eos stultè imprudenter, & æquo
Durius, ad ritum Romæ *voluisse* Brittannos
Cogere & antiquum tam præcipitanter amorem
Tam stolido temerâsse ausu. Concedere Roma
Debuit, aiebant, potiùs quàm rumpere pacem

* *Chronicle of* Wales, *pag.* 231. ‡ *Baptist. Mantuan. Fastor. lib* 1.

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Humani quæ juris erant; modo salva maneret
Lex divina, fides, Christi doctrina, Senatus
Quam primus tulit ore suo; quia tradita ab ipso
Christo erat, humanæ doctore & lumine vitæ.

Quòd autem Pascha non suo tempore observabat vel canonicum ejus tempus ignorans, vel suæ gentis auctoritate, ne agnitum sequeretur, devictus; non approbo nec laudo. *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 17.*— [w] More suæ gentis. *Ibid. cap. 3.*— [x] Pascha contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant facere non potuit. *Ibid. cap. 25.*— [y] *Id. ibid.*

[z] *Colmanusque suas inglorius abjicit arces,*
Malens Ausonias victus dissolvere leges:

, Colmanus qui de Scotiâ erat Episcopus, relinquens Britanniam, tulit secum omnes quos in Lindisfarnorum insulâ congregaverat Scotos. *Bede. lib. 4. cap. 4.*— [a] Optione datâ, maluerunt loco cedere, quàm Pascha catholicum, cæterosque ritus canonicos juxta Romanæ & Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ consuetudinem recipere. *Id. lib. 5. cap. 20. & lib. 3. cap. 25. where* Humpum *is misprinted for* Hripum.— [b] *Ibid. cap. 16. & 22* — [b] Nec mora, quæ dixerat, regiâ authoritate perfecit. Statim namque jussu publico mittebantur ad transcribendum, discendum, observandum per universas Pictorum provincias circuli Paschæ decennovennales; obliteratis per omnia erroneis octoginta & quatuor annorum circulis. Attondebantur omnes in coronam ministri altaris ac monachi, &c. *Ibid. cap. 22.*— [c] *Id. lib. 3. cap. 4. & lib. 5. cap. 23.*— [d] *Id. lib. 5. cap. 23. & 24.*— [d] *See the Chronicle of* Wales, *pag. 17. 18. and Humfr. Lhuyd. fragment. Britan. Descript. fol. 55. b.*— [e] Ego Nennius sancti Elbodi discipulus, aliqua excerptu scribere curavi. *Nenn. M. S. in publicâ Cantabrig. Academ. Bibliothecâ, ubi alia exemplaria habent: Ego* Nennius (*vel* Ninnius) Elvodugi discipulus.— [g] Ab adventu Patricii in jam dictam insulam (*Hiberniam sc.*) usquè ad cyclum decennovennalem in quo sumus, 22. sunt cycli, id est, 421. & sunt duo anni in Ogdoade usque in hunc annum. *Id.*— [h] Ενεκα τινων εκκλησιαστικων παραδοσεων, τελειας τε τυ παχαλιυ και κατριβυς καταληψεως. Tom. 8. Chrysost. edit. Henr. Savil. pag. 321. 6. & in Notis, col. 966 5 [i] *Bed li. 2. hist. cap. 2.*— [k] Anno Dom. 612. *(vel 613.)* Bellum Cairelegion, ubi sancti occisi sunt. *Annal. ultan. M. S.*— [l] *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 3. et 6.*— [m] *Ibid. cap. 21, 22, 24.*— [n] *Ibid cap. 3. 5. 17. 25, 26.* — [o] *Ibid. cap. 20. 25* — [p] *Ibid. cap. 21. 24.*— [q] Paucitas enim Sacerdotum cogebat unum antistitem upbohus populis ræfici. *Ib. cap. 21*— [r] *Ibid. cap. 3. 4. 5 17. 26.*— [s] Etsi Pascha contra morem eornm qui ipsum miserant, facere non potuit; opera tamen fidei, pietatis & dilectionis, juxta morem omnibus sanctis consuetum diligenter exequi curavit. Unde ab omnibus etiam his qui de Pascha aliter sentiebant, merito diligebatur: nec solum a mediocribus, verum ab

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ipsi quoque Episcopis, Honorio Cantuariorum & Felice Orientalium Anglorum, venerationi habitus est. *Ibid. cap.* 25.— [a] Dominis charissimis fratribus Episcopis vel Abbatibus per universam Scotiam ; Laurentius, Mellitus, & Justus Episcopi, servi servorum Dei. *Id. lib.* 2. *cap.* 4.— [b] Gens quamquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus ; tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fidem præpollet. *Jon. Vit. Columb. cap.* 1.

CHAPTER XI.

[a] *ALLEN. Answer to the Execution of Justice in* England. *pag.* 140.— [b] Cùm juri suo renunciare liberum sit cuilibet (quanquam subjectionis cujuslibet hactenus immunes) his tamen hodie nostris diebus, Anglorum Regi Henrico secundo omnes Hiberniæ principes firmis fidei sacramentique vinculis se sponte submiserunt. *Gir. Camb. Hib. expug. lib.* 2. *cap.* 7.—— [c] *Gene. Chronogra. lib.* 3. *in Sylvest.* 1. *Bellarmin. de Roman. Pont. lib.* 5. *cap.* 9. *in fine.*— [d] Insulas omnes sibi speciali quodam jure vendicat. *Gir. Cambr. Hib. expug. lib.* 2. *cap.* 7.— [e] Nos hanc olim quæsturam per annos gessimus ; ejusque muneris obeundi causâ, primum in Angliam venimus. *Polydo. Virgil. Anglic. hist lib.* 4.— [f] Id Hiberni posse fieri, nisi autoritate Romani Pontificis, negabant : quòd jam inde ab initio, post Christianam religionem acceptam, sese ac omnia sua in ejus ditionem dedidissent ; atque constanter affirmabant, non alium habere se Dominum, præter ipsum Pontificem ; id quod etiam nunc jactitant. *Id. lib.* 13. *ejusd. hist.*— [g] *Camp. History of* Ireland *lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. — [h] Hiberni initio statim post Christianam religionem acceptam, se suaque omnia in Pontificis Romani ditionem dederant ; nec quenquam alium supremum Hiberniæ Principem ad illud usque tempus præter unum Romanum Pontificem agnoverunt. *Sander. de scism. Anglican.* lib. 1. *ad ann.* 1542. [i] Sane omnes Insulas, quibus Sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, & quæ documenta fidei Christianæ susceperunt, ad jus St. Petri & sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ (quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium pertinere. *Bull. Adrian* iv. *ad Henr. II. Angl. reg.*— [k] Ad preces meas illustri Regi Anglorum Henrico secundo concessit & dedit Hiberniam jure hæreditario possidendam ; sicut literæ ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem. Nam omnes insulæ, de jure antiquo, ex donatione Constantini, qui eam fundavit & dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinere. *Johan. Sarisburiens. Me. Metalogic lib.* 4. *cap.* 42.— [l] Per nostram Imperialem jussionem sacram tam in Oriente quàm in Occidente, vel etiam septentrionali & meridianâ plagâ, videlicet in *Judeâ, Græciâ, Africâ* & *Italiâ*, vel diversis Insulis nostrâ largietate eis libertatem concessimus : eâ prorsus ratione, ut per manus beatissimi patris nostri Sylvestri Pontificis successorumque ejus omnia disponantur. *Edict. Constantin.*— [m] Ultra Oceanum verò quid erat præter Brittanniam ?

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Quæ à vobis ita reuperata est; ut illæ quoque nationes terminis ejusdem insulæ cohærentes vestris nutibus obsequantur. *Eumen. Panegyric. ad Constant.* — [n] *Pomp. Lat. in Rom. hist. Comp. Jo. Cuspinian. in Cæsarib. Seb. Muns. in lib. 2. Cosmograph.* — [o] *Harding. Chron cap.* 241. — [p] *Ibid. cap.* 132 — *Osullevan, Histor. Catholic. Iberniæ, tom. 2. lib. 1. cap. 7.* — [q] *Ibid. cap.* 4, 5, 9, & *lib. 2. c. 3.* — [r] Illius terræ populus te recipiat, & sicut Dominum veneretur. *Bull. Adrian. IV.* [s] Sicut Dominum veneretur, id est, ut Principem dignum magno honore; non Dominum Iberniæ, sed præfectum causâ colligendi tributi, Ecclesiastici. *Osullevan. hist. Ibern. fol.* 59. *b. in margin.* — [t] *Robert. de Monte. Roger. de Wendover. Mat. Paris. & Nicol. Trivett. in Chronic.* 1155. — [u] Venerabilis Adriani Papæ vestigiis inhærentes, vestrique desiderii fructum attendentes; concessionem ejusdem super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto (salvâ Beato Petro & sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ, sicut in *Angliâ*, sic in *Hibernîâ*, de singulis domibus annuâ unius denarii pensione) ratam habemus & confirmamus. *Bul. Alexandri III. apud Giraldum Camb. lib. 2. Hist. Ibern. expugnat. cap. 6 in Codicibus M. S. (in edito enim caput hoc mancum est) & Jo. Ros. sum Warwicensem, in tract. De terris Coronæ Angliæ annexis.* — [v] Annulum quoque per me transmisit aureum, smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fieret investitura juris in gerenda Hibernia: idemque adhuc annulus in curiali archio publico custodiri jussus est. *Jo. Sarisbur. Metalogic. lib. 4. cap. 42. de quo consulendus etiam est Giraldus Cambrens. lib. 2. Hibern. expugnat. cap. 6* — [x] In Regem & Dominum receperunt. *Roger. Wendover. & Matth. Paris. in historia majori, an.* 1171. *Roger Hoveden, in posteriore parte Annalium. Johan Brampton in Historia Joralanensi, & Bartholomæus de Cotton. in Histor. Anglor. M. S.* — Recepit ab unoquoque Archiepiscopo & Episcopo literas, cum sigillis suis in modum Chartæ pendentibus; regnum Hiberniæ sibi & hæredibus suis confirmantes, & testimonium perhibentes ipsos in Hibernîâ eum & hæredes suos sibi in Reges & Dominos in perpetuum constituisse. *Jo. Brampton, ibid.* — [y] Venerunt ibidem ad Regem *Angliæ* omnes Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Abbates totius Hiberniæ, & receperunt eum in Regem & Dominum Hiberniæ; jurantes ei & hæredibus suis fidelitatem, & regnandi super eos potestatem in perpetuum: & inde dederunt ei chartas suas. Exemplo autem clericorum, prædicti Reges & Principes Hiberniæ, receperunt simili modo Henricum Regem *Angliæ* in Dominum & Regem Hiberniæ; & homines sui devenerunt, & ei & hæredibus suis fidelitatem juraverunt contra omnes homines. *Rog. Hoveden. ad ann.* 1171. — [z] Dignum etenim & justissimum est, ut sicut Dominum & Regem ex *Anglia* sortita est divinitus Hibernia; sic etiam exinde vivendi formam accipiant meliorem. *Girald. Camb. Hib. Expugnat. lib. 1. cap.* 34. — [a] Rex *Angliæ* misit transcriptum Chartarum universorum Archiepiscoporum Hiberniæ, ad Alexandrum Papam: & ipse authoritate Apostolicâ confirmavit illi & hæredibus suis regnum Hiberniæ, secundum formam Chartarum Archiepiscoporum & Episcoporum Hiberniæ. *Rog. Hoveden.* — [b] Nam summus Pontifex regnum illud sibi & hæredibus suis

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auctoritate Apostolicâ confirmavit; & in perpetuum eos constituit inde Reges. *Jo. Brampton.*— [e] Perquisierat ab Alexandro summo Pontifice, quod liceret ei filium suum quem vellet Regem Hiberniæ facere, & similiter coronare; ac Reges & potentes ejusdem terræ, qui subjectionem ei facere nollent debellare, *Id. ad an.* 1177.— [f] Johannem filium suum coram Episcopis & regni sui principibus Regem Hiberniæ constituit. *Id. Ibid. & Gualterus Coventrensis, in ejusdem anni hist.*— [g] Constituit Johannem filium suum Regem in Hibernia, concessione & confirmatione Alexandri summi Pontificis. *Rog. Hoveden. Annal. part.* 2 *ad ann.* 1177.— [h] Ab eo impetravit; quòd unus quem vellet de filiis suis coronaretur de regno Hiberniæ, & hoc confirmavit ei Dominus Papa Bullâ suâ: & in argumentum voluntatis & confirmationis suæ, misit ei coronam de pennâ pavonis auro contexàm. *Id. ad ann.* 1185.— [i] Quibus ipse commisit legatiam in Hiberniam, ad coronandam ibi Johannem filium Regis. Sed Dominus Rex coronationem illam distulit. *Id. ad ann.* 1187. —[k] Paulus IV. nostris temporibus Hiberniam insulam in regni titulum ac dignitatem erexit. *Gabutius in vitâ Pii V.*—[l] Ad omnipotentis Dei laudem & gloriam, ac gloriosissimæ ejus genetricis Virginis Mariæ, totiusque Curiæ cœlestis honorem, & fidei Catholicæ exaltationem, Philippo Rege & Mariâ Reginâ nobis super hoc humiliter supplicantibus, de fratrum nostrorum concilio & Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, Apostolicâ authoritate Insulam Hiberniæ in Regnum perpetuò erigimus: ac titulo, dignitate, honore, facultatibus, juribus, insignis, prærogativis, antelationibus, præeminensiis regiis, ac quibus alia Cbristi fidelium Regna utuntur, potiuntur, & gaudent, ac uti, potiri, & gaudere poterunt quomodo libet, in futurum insignimus & decoramus, *Bulla Pauli IV. in Rotulo Patentium, ann.* 2 *&* 3. *Philippi & Mariæ, in Cancellariâ Hiberniæ.* [m] *Previnciale ex archivis Cancellariæ Apostolicæ edit. tomo* 2. Tract. *Doctor. fol.* 344. *(impres. Venet. an.* 1548.)—[n] Satis constat, secundum Albertum Magnum & Bartholomæum de proprietatibus rerum, quòd toto Mundo in tres partes diviso (videlicet Asiam, Africam. & Europam) Europa in quatuor dividitur regna: primum videlicèt Romanum, secundum Constantinopolitanum, tertium regnum Hiberniæ quod jam translatum est in Anglicos, & quartum regnum Hispaniæ. Ex quo patet, quòd Rex *Angliæ* & regnum suum sunt de eminentioribus antiquioribus Regibus & Regnis totius Europæ: quam prærogativam regnum *Franciæ* non fertur obtinere. *Act. Council. Constant. Sess.* 28. *M. S. in Bibliothecâ Regiâ. See the Book in the Cottonian Library* Nero—*in thin* Folio *collected by the Cardinal of* Arragon, *&c.*— [o] Cujus mali maxima culpa in aliquot Anglo-ibernos Sacerdotes jure transferenda est; qui tartareum dogma ab Oreo in Catholicorum perniciem emissum non negabant, licere Catholicis contra Catholicos & suam patriam pro Hæreticis gerere arma & dimicare. *Philip. Osullevan. Hist. Catholic. Iberniæ, tom.* 4. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 5 *fol.* 263 *edit. Ulissipon. an.* 1621.—[p] Hæc est Academiarum censura; quâ liquidò constat, quantâ ignoratione & Caligine erraverint illi Iberni, qui in hoc bello Protestantibus opem tulerunt, & Catholicos oppugnârunt: quamque insanam & venenosam doctrinam attulerint nonnulli doctiores vulgo

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habiti, qui seculares homines ad Reginæ partes sequendas exhortati, à fide tuenda averterunt, *Id. tom. 3. lib. 8. cap. 7. fol. 204.*—[n] Cùm enim Pontifex dicat Anglos adversus Catholicam Religionem pugnare, eosque non minus ac Turcas oppugnari debere; eisdemque gratiis eos oppugnantes prosequatur, quibus contra Turcas pugnantes prosequitur: quis dubitet, bellum ab Anglis adversus exercitum Catholicum omnino iniquum geri? *Censur. Dec. Salamantic. & Vallisolet de Hiberniæ bello.*— [o] Quid, & illa potestas, quæ servos Dei persequitur, fidem impugnat, religionem subvertit, à Deo est? Ad quod respondendum, quod etiam talis potestas à Deo data est, ad vindictam quidem malorum, laudem vero bonorum: *Sed. in Rom. 13.*

[p] *Herodes hostis impie,*
Christum venire quid times?
Non eripit mortalia,
Qui regna dat cœlestia.—Sed. in Hymno acrostich. de Vitâ Christi.

— [q] Rex iste qui natus est, non venit Reges pugnando superare; sed moriendo mirabiliter subjugare: neque ideo natus est ut tibi succedat, sed ut eum mundus fideliter credat. Venit enim, non ut regnet vivus, sed ut triumphet occisus: nec sibi de aliis gentibus auro exercitum quærat; sed ut pro salvandis gentibus pretiosum sanguinem fundat. Inaniter *invidendo* timuisti successorem, quem credendo debuisti quærere salvatorem: qui si in eum crederes, cum eo regnares: & sicut ab illo accepisti temporale regnum, acciperes etiam sempiternum. Hujus enim pueri regnum non est de hoc mundo; sed per ipsum regnatur in hoc mundo. Ipse est etiam Sapientia Dei, quæ dicit in Proverbiis: Per me Reges regnant, Puer iste Verbum Dei est, Puer iste Virtus &. Sapientia Dei est. Si potes, contra Dei sapientiam cogita: in tuam perniciam versaris, & nescis. Tu enim regnum nullatenus habuisses, nisi ab isto Puero qui nunc natus est accepisses. *Claud lib. 1. in Matth.*— [r] Veritas sapienti sitet, cujuscunque ore prolata fuerit. *Gildas, in Cod. Canonum Cottonianus cit.* De veritate credenda, quocunque ore prolata fuerit. *Similiter Nennius, præfat. in Historiam Brittonum (M. S. S. in publica Cantabrigiensis academiæ Bibliothecâ.)* Non quis dicat, aut qualiter dicatur, sed quid dictum sit, veritatis testimonio magis attendendum esse probatur.— [s] In doctrina religionis non quid dicatur, sed quis loquatur attendendum esse. *Thom. Stapleton Defens. Ecclesiast. authoritat. lib. 3. cap. 7. & Demonstrat. Principior. Doctrinal lib. 10 cap. 5.*— [t] Veritas propter seipsam diligenda est, non propter hominem, aut propter Angelum, per quem adnunciatur. Qui enim propter adnunciatores eam diligit, potest & mendacia diligere, siqua fortè ipsi sua protulerint. *Claud. in Galat. 1.*

FINIS.

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ERRATA TO LIFE.

Page 2, line 28, *for* since, *read* before.
2, — 39, *for* Uncle. *read* Grandfather and his Uncle Henry Usher, who preceded him in the See of Armagh.
5 — 6, *for* 1693, *read* 1593.
7, — 16, *for* political, *read* polemical.
8, — 11, *for* Jusuit, *read* Jesuit.
8, — 15, *for* resolved, *read* was resolved not.
9, — 31, *for* Chaticatical *read* Chatichetical.
11, — 5, *after* return, *read* like a deluge.
21, — 43, *for* ar, *read* are.
23, — 7, *for* Dean, *read* Mr.
23. — 33, *for* for, *read* from.
24, — 9, *for* was, *read* who not.
24, — 10, *dele* but.
27, — 31, *for* walked, *read* wasted.
41, — 23, *for* Syncronising, *read* Synchronising.
42, — 9, *for* Armeniaa, *read* Arminian.
49, — 1, *for* errer, *read* to be seized and sold. The execution of the order.
49, — 16, *for* primative, *read* primitive.
56, — 30, *for* Garison, *read* Garrison.
56, — 30, *for* yeliped, *read* ycleped.
56, — 31, *for* mium, *read* nium.
57, — 1, *for* trayed, *read* betrayed.
57, — 27, *for* disposition, *read* usurpation.

ERRATUM TO THE WORK.

Page 104, line 11, *for* were a Bride if, *read* if a Bride were.

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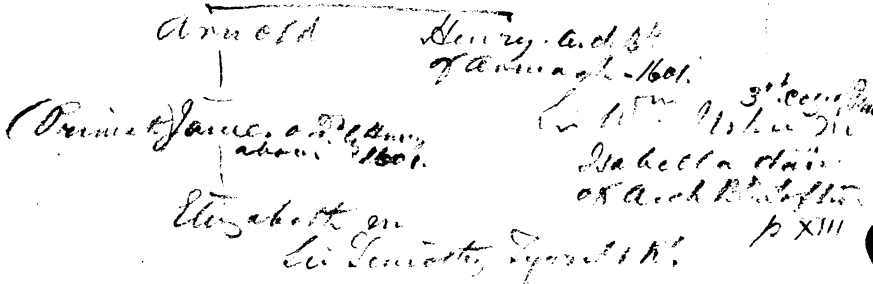

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